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Linguistic Politeness in Medieval French

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Linguistic Politeness in Medieval French

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my father, who was a rare treasure, to my mother, whose presence lights up every second of my life, to my beloved son, who is an inspiration, and to my husband, who is the ultimate support.

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Linguistic Politeness in Medieval French

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Thus far, politeness in Old and Middle French and in older languages in general has not been closely examined. This dissertation therefore presents a detailed linguistic analysis of politeness in Medieval French. Relying heavily on data from a wide range of texts from Latin to Middle French, this dissertation discusses several aspects of linguistic politeness that traditionally have been misinterpreted or not considered. First and foremost, the evidence indicates that polite and deferential speech existed from early Latin onward, although its representation could vary from one period to another. The analysis of the linguistic systems of Latin and Medieval French introduces non-pronominal linguistic devices used to express politeness, the role of the pronominal address system in polite speech, and the evolution of the pronominal address system after the emergence of the deferential pronoun *vous*.

Moreover, a diachronic analysis of the data reveals the spread of conventionalized polite and formal language, which was an instrument representing upper class society, to middle class society and the generalization of the polite linguistic devices in Middle French. This observation shows that, paradoxically, in the Classical period, conventional polite language could no longer be associated merely with upper

class society. Subsequently, in contrast to the majority of previous studies, it is argued that the alleged inconsistency in the use of the pronominal address system of Old French was not significant and that it in fact followed a regular pattern. As a result, the Old French pronominal address system did not represent an irregular or isolated system, but a system in evolution.

Finally, from a sociolinguistic perspective, this study partially supports the theory of a universal view of politeness postulated by Brown and Levinson (1987), because some of polite linguistic devices put forth in their theory (e.g. honorifics, impersonal structures, hedges, etc.) are found in older languages. Yet, this dissertation emphasizes that strategies used to express politeness changed over time, indicating that politeness is culturally defined.

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Abbreviations

Abl.	ablative
Acc.	accusative
Adv.	adverb, adverbial
Ar.	Arabic
Art.	article
Aux.	auxiliary
c.	century
Comp.	comparative
Cond.	conditional
Conj.	conjunction
Dat.	dative
Fut.	future
Gen.	genitive
Ger.	gerund, gerundive
Gm.	German
Imp.	imperative
Imperf.	imperfect
Impers.	impersonal
Inf.	infinitive
inst.	instances
Interr.	interrogative
Lat.	Latin
Loc.	locution
Masc.	masculine
Nom.	nominative
Obl.	oblique
Part.	participle
Pass.	passive
Perf.	perfect
Poss.	possessive
Pl.	plural
Pluperf.	pluperfect
Pron.	pronoun
Prep.	preposition, prepositional
Sg.	singular
Subj.	subject
Subju.	subjunctive
Superl.	superlative
Tu.	Turkish
Voc.	vocative

Abbreviations for Texts and Authors

Alisc.	*Aliscans*
Arras.	*Courtois d'Arras*
Cic.	Cicero
Charlemagne	*Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne*
C.N.	*Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*
Ep.	[Plinii Caecilii Secundi] *Epistularum*
Fam.	*Epistulae ad Familiares*
Fres.	*Le Fresne*
Merc.	*Mercator*
Most.	*Mostellaria*
Pathelin	*Maistre Pierre Pathelin*
Petr.	Petronius
Plaut.	Plautus
PriseOr	*La prise d'Orange*
Q.Frat.	*Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*
Renart	*Le roman de Renart*
R.Sauveur	*Résurrection du Sauveur*
Rol.	*La chanson de Roland*
Rud.	*Rudens*
Rust.	*De Re Rustica*
Sat.	*Satyricon*
St.Alexis	*La vie de Saint Alexis*
St.Léger	*Saint Léger*
St.Sébastien	*Mystère de Saint Sébastien*
St.Louis	*Vie de Saint Louis*
Strasbourg	*Les serments de Strasbourg*
T.d.A.	*C'est li testament de l'asne*
Yvain	*Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH

For years, various aspects of politeness[1] have been studied extensively by numerous linguists, sociolinguists, and anthropologists, yet there is little existing research on politeness in old languages, and the diachronic aspect of politeness has certainly been overlooked. Historical research into politeness will reveal cultural and linguistic transformations that occurred during centuries and will help us to understand better the reason behind polite language and behavior in modern societies. Being interested in studying politeness in Medieval French, we have started our research in that field and have realized that many studies have solely focused on the notion of politeness in the Classical period as if politeness was absent before that period. It is therefore evident that politeness in Medieval French and even in Latin has not received enough attention. Sufficiently, by transferring an anthropological concept to historical linguistics, we have conducted an independent diachronic study on politeness in Medieval French to address our unanswered questions: How politeness was expressed in Latin and early periods of French? Through which linguistic means was politeness conveyed, if any? What social factors would trigger the use of deferential language? What linguistic changes happened?

The purpose of this dissertation is therefore to adopt a diachronic approach examining politeness in speech in Medieval French, solidly embedding Latin data that provide a historical background to French data. This diachronic analysis addresses two

[1] Although the terms 'politeness' and 'deference' may have slightly different meanings, as in many studies, these terms are used interchangeably in our dissertation.

main issues: 1) Linguistic features that could be used to express politeness, in the absence of a pronominal system, as well as their evolution; and 2) The emergence of the pronoun of respect *vous*, its early usage and its involvement in the formation of a new pronominal address system. Our research will also make a contribution to the sociolinguistic field by taking into account the universal perspective of politeness, which has been repeatedly challenged and debated by many linguists. During our research, we have continuously encountered discussions about a theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) claiming the universal characteristic of politeness. In our view, if politeness is in fact a universal phenomenon, one should expect to find similar linguistic patterns or strategies in both modern and old languages. Therefore, we have decided to apply the theory of universal politeness to our results in order to evaluate the accuracy of this well known theory.

1.2. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

We will present our main arguments and data in four chapters. Chapter Two will be divided into two parts. First, we will review the literature on politeness to familiarize readers with prominent studies in the field. A very important part of this study will be the evaluation of the universality theory of politeness, presented by Brown and Levinson (1987), and its critiques. In the framework of their universal theory of politeness, principle strategies of politeness are similar in all languages. Numerous studies conducted on contemporary languages, however, reject this hypothesis by arguing that speakers of different cultures have different views and understandings of politeness, which lead them

to choose different strategies to express deference. The argument of the opponents of this theory seems legitimate since politeness is closely related to culture and social norms, and nobody expects uniform behavior among different societies and nations. However, none of these studies deny the existence of some common linguistic features in most languages. After presenting the study of Brown and Levinson (1987) and the studies of supporters and opponents of their theory, we argue that instead of rejecting the universality theory of politeness altogether, we should acknowledge that this theory may be applicable to many languages in terms of linguistic forms and structures. For instance, most, if not all, languages have polite address terms, or in most languages speakers can choose an alternative linguistic structure (e.g. indirect request) to soften an order or command. These features may not be identical or they may not be used in similar situations, but they exist in most languages. Our claim in this matter will be based on a detailed analysis of data from Latin to Middle French (see chapter 3). Examination of data will reveal that polite linguistic features that are found in many modern languages are also attested in Latin and Medieval French. Linguistic similarities among languages can emerge because of different phenomena (e.g. language contact, common origin, parallel development of linguistic features, etc). For instance, while similarities among sister languages may be attested because of their common origin, similarities among unrelated languages may be the result of language contact, etc. It is not, however, within the scope of this study to look for the source of similar linguistic trends among worldwide languages in terms of politeness, and therefore separate studies need to be done among both related and unrelated languages.

In the second part of Chapter Two, we present an overview of the historical notion of politeness. By referring to several studies, we briefly discuss how and when the cultural notion of politeness emerged in France and probably in other Western cultures and societies. Yet, the emphasis has solely been on the Classical period without embracing a comprehensive diachronic approach. There is no doubt that the expression of politeness changes as society undergoes a series of social and cultural transformations. From this perspective, a diachronic approach will give us insight into the evolution of polite speech in Latin and Medieval French. Our observation will show that polite speech existed in all periods although it could be represented differently.

In Chapter Three, we examine the linguistic devices that may be used to determine polite speech in the absence of a pronominal system (e.g. terms of address, polite expressions, impersonal constructions, etc.) in Latin and Medieval French. Most Romance languages, including French, to a large extent, rely on the pronoun of respect to convey politeness or social distance. However, Latin and Early Old French speakers could not depend on their pronominal system to express similar social intentions. A pronominal subject of any kind was rarely used and the finite verb form provided person information. We therefore look for other linguistic elements that could be used to convey politeness in those periods. We then trace these polite forms to later Old and Middle French in order to examine the frequency of their usages and to observe possible transformations and changes (e.g. the generalization of honorifics) that took place in the French linguistic system. At the end of the evaluation, we will compare our results with

the theory of universal politeness to determine whether our results fit into the universal pattern of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

The two following chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) are dedicated to the careful examination of the pronominal system in Latin and Medieval French. After briefly reviewing existing hypotheses and studies on the emergence of *vous* as a polite pronoun and its comparison to the pronouns of respect in other Romance languages, we focus on its diachronic evolution in Chapter Four. Our evaluation of the development of a binary pronominal address system (i.e. a T/V pronominal system) will be on the basis of the data provided by others. The common inconsistency and confusion in the use of the pronouns of address in Medieval French establishes the main argument of many studies. Various theories and hypotheses have been offered by a great number of linguists hoping to find an adequate explanation for erratic uses of the pronouns, where the two pronouns of address could co-occur addressing the same individual. In our review of the studies, we discuss their theoretical similarities or differences, and challenge the possible inadequacy in their methodologies.

In Chapter Five, we present and analyze our own data as found in a number of relevant texts. We study the use of *vos* or *vous* from Latin to Middle French, using a selection of representative texts from the 3rd century B.C. to 15th century French. The data from Latin and Medieval French reveal that the deferential pronoun *vous* was a marked pronoun of address until the 12th century, yet from the 12th century on, its linguistic status changes radically and its usage becomes so frequent that we may barely attest the use of non-deferential or informal pronouns in many texts. Comparison of our findings with

previous studies, discussed in Chapter Four, enables us to challenge existing hypotheses on the inconsistent use of the pronouns of address. Relying on our numerical data, we challenge the idea of the frequent co-occurrence of the two pronouns that has been put forward in the literature. Secondly, and more importantly, in contrast to the existing hypotheses, we do not limit our study to the review of the functions of the pronouns of address in instances of pronominal alternation. We attempt to look at the underlying representation of this problem and discuss the fundamental motivation behind such inconsistency to the extent that it exists.

1.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The biggest problem in any historical research lies in our inability to have immediate and direct access to the languages and societies in question. For instance, because of the limited texts and sources of ancient cultures and because face to face interaction is inaccessible to us, it may not be possible to examine the same expressions or forms in various contexts, and it may not be possible to take into consideration the true intentions of speakers and addressees and the meaning behind their utterances. Instead, we attempt to draw conclusions on the basis of the frequency of deferential linguistic forms, their characteristics, their contexts, and the relationship between speakers and addressees as well as their social status. Subsequently, at no point in our research, are we able to check our assumptions by reaching out to an informant of the language or by examining similar and real communicative settings. Therefore, although any result drawn

from this study as in many other historical studies may remain at a level of a hypothesis, the conclusions are based on data from a considerable number of texts.

For this research, we have chosen a variety of texts from early Latin (3rd century B.C.) to Middle French (14th / 15th century). While we did not encounter any obstacle finding plays or ordinary letters, representing the spoken language in Latin, we had difficulties finding such texts in Old and Middle French. For these two periods, the data will therefore include texts in verse and in prose. Even though texts in verse may not reveal the ordinary and vernacular language of the relevant time, we had no other option but to include these types of text in the data due to the limited availability of Old French prose.

1.4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Selecting appropriate data is one of the crucial steps in any research. In our study, we are dealing with two different sets of data:

- Data presented in the existing literature
- Our own and exclusive data that were collected after examining various texts.

As mentioned earlier, our strategy was to include the data and discussions in the existing studies to set a framework for our own data and analyses. Therefore, in Chapter Two, which is an overview of studies on politeness, and in Chapter Four, which projects typological findings on the use of the pronominal address system in French, we examine and discuss a set of data provided by other linguists. In Chapters Three and Five, on the other hand, we present our own data and findings, which include numerous examples of

Latin, Old and Middle French. In addition, although our own data are presented in two different chapters presenting different topics, the data have been chosen from the same texts.

In the process of gathering our own data, we kept the following criteria in mind while choosing an appropriate text for this research:

- Spreading in time: texts that belong to different centuries
- Spreading in genre**:** texts that are representative of various types of literature (e.g. play, lyrical poem, fable, novel, etc.)
- Sociolinguistic spreading: texts that index different social relations and preferably different registers and social classes
- Representations of talk: texts that include direct communications

Among texts that meet several of the criteria above, we have then selected several of them on the basis of our familiarity with the text, its popularity, and its length. Subsequently, we have tried to make an inventory of phenomena of politeness. The data will mostly represent the frequent and repeated polite forms although we will refer to rare examples if their recognition contributes to our discussion. Moreover, we have only considered situations that would certainly express politeness and have excluded situations in which the polite intention of the speaker was not clear-cut. The sections in question have been identified either from the examination of the entire texts or from the analysis of large passages of documents.

In terms of translation of the data, we should clarify our methodology. The readers may know that original texts are not readily accessible as they are kept in national museums or libraries. Even if the original texts be available to us, original scripts need to be decoded by linguists who have the necessary expertise in the field. Therefore, like many researchers, we have relied on the copies published in various books, but we provide our own glossary and translations. A word by word translation as well as a fluent and comprehensible translation is therefore presented. Subsequently, because the recognition of old terms may not be an easy task, in addition to the meaning of each word, we use abbreviations for which a complete list is provided. Abbreviations used in the glossary indicate the grammatical categories of words whenever clarification is necessary. For instance, instead of presenting salient verbal categories such as indicative or present, we highlight grammatical categories such as subjunctive or perfect in the glossary.

Chapter 2. What is Politeness?

What is politeness? How can we define politeness? How can we recognize politeness in speech? Does everyone have the same concept of politeness in mind? Is politeness defined similarly across cultures? For many years, scholars have tried to answer these questions by defining politeness through various theories. Despite abundant studies in the field, they still struggle to find a single, common definition for politeness, as the following quotations show:

> When people are asked what they imagine polite behaviour to be, there is a surprising amount of disagreement. In an effort to find some kind of consensus we may of course take refuge in very general statements, but our usual way out of the dilemma is to resort to giving examples of behavior which we, personally, would consider 'polite'. (Watts 2003:1)

> Indeed, one of the oddest things about politeness research is that the term "politeness" itself is either not explicitly defined at all or else taken to be a consequence of rational social goals such as maximising the benefit to self and other, minimising the face-threatening nature of social act, displaying adequate proficiency in the accepted standards of social etiquette, avoiding conflict, making sure that the social interaction runs smoothly, etc.
>
> (Watts et al. 2005 [1992]:3)

> A main problem, we suggested, is the lack of agreement among investigators about how politeness should be defined as a subject of study.
>
> (Janny and Arndt 2005 [1992]:22)

We are, in fact, witnessing different definitions of politeness, which reflect various interpretations of the term 'politeness'. While, for instance, Lakoff (1989:101) considers politeness a way "to avoid conflict," Fraser and Nolen (1981:96) believe that "to be polite

is to abide by the rules of the relationship." Despite different interpretations of politeness, most scholars agree that a pragmatic approach [2], which requires an understanding of the social context, the interaction between speakers and hearers, and the communicative settings, is needed to study politeness.

In this introductory chapter, we briefly introduce a few areas of prominent research in the field that have become a framework for most studies. The focus, however, will be on the study of Brown and Levinson (1987) and its critiques. We have chosen the study of Brown and Levinson (1987) for two reasons. Firstly, the authors claim that their theory is universal and can be applied to all other languages. Secondly, through the use of examples, they provide detailed explanation of how linguistic devices (e.g. verb mood, hedges, etc) can be used as a means of developing ordinary speech into polite speech. In the last section, we present several historical perspectives and definitions of the notion of politeness, on the basis of the existing literature.

2.1. PRESENT STUDIES ON POLITENESS

Many studies on politeness refer to the well-known hypothesis of Grice (1975 [1967]) that discusses, in general, the importance of meaning behind words and utterances in a conversational discourse. Examining the English language, he mainly argues that the intention of speakers should be transparent and recognizable for hearers during conversation, which is not respected in many instances, as shown in the following statement:

[2] Leech (1983:1) defines 'pragmatics' as "how language is used in communication."

> Suppose that A and B are talking about a mutual friend, C, who is now working in a bank. A asks B how C is getting on in his job, and B replies, *Oh quite well*, *I think; he likes his colleagues, and he hasn't been to prison yet*. At this point, A might well inquire what B was implying, what he was suggesting, or even what he meant by saying that C had not yet been to prison. The answer might be any one of such things as that C is the sort of person likely to yield to the temptation provided by his occupation, that C's colleagues are really very unpleasant and treacherous people, and so forth. It might, of course, be quite unnecessary for A to make such an inquiry of B, the answer to it being, in the context, clear in advance. I think it is clear that whatever B implied, suggested, meant, etc., in this example, is distinct from what B said, which was simply that C had not been to prison yet.
>
> (Grice 1975: 43)

Therefore, Grice (1975) proposed a set of rules, namely the Cooperative Principle (CP). He claims that these rules, presented in four categories, should be respected by all participants of a conversation in order for the message to be effective, informative and unambiguous.

Quantity:

Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
Do not make your contribution more informative than is required

Quality:

Do not say what you believe to be false
Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence

Relation:

Be relevant.

***Manner*:**

Avoid obscurity of expression
Avoid ambiguity
Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
Be orderly (Grice 1975: 45-46)

Violation of any of the principles can however occur for various reasons (see Grice 1975: 49-56). For instance, in the following example, the answer of speaker B violates the category 'Quantity' (i.e. "Make your contribution as informative as is required..."):

(1) *A: Where does C live?*
B: Somewhere in the South of France. (Grice 1975:51)

Grice (1975: 51-52) argues that in this example, speaker A needs more information and B, knowing that his answer is not informative enough**,** implicates that "he does not know in which town C lives." In fact, to respect a rule of 'Quality' (i.e. "Don't say what you lack adequate evidence for"), the speaker violates a rule of 'Quantity'.

Many linguists used the principles of Grice as underlying conditions to build their own rules and theories of politeness. In fact, Grice's research was the starting point for the study of politeness using a pragmatic approach. Not only was Grice the first linguist to launch a pragmatic study of conversational discourse, but he also briefly pointed to the existence of a set of other communicative principles such as "Be polite" (Grice 1975:47, see also Watts et al. 2005:3). Therefore, Grice's suggestion gave idea of generating principles of politeness that could complete Grice's principles of conversation to linguists like Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987), who conducted early studies of politeness (see Watts et al. 2005:3).

One early influential study on politeness was conducted by Lakoff (1973), using Grice's theory. In her work, Lakoff recognizes that besides syntactic and semantic approaches, a pragmatic approach may be needed to judge the acceptability of a sentence. Sentences can be well formed or ill formed syntactically, semantically *and* pragmatically. While examples (2b) and (3b) illustrate violations of syntax and semantics respectively, example (4b) can only be a violation of pragmatic rules (Lakoff 1973: 292-296).

(2) *(a) John threw out the garbage.* (syntax)
*(b) *John threw out it*

(3) *(a) The crowd dispersed.* (semantics)
*(b)*The aardvark dispersed.*

(4) *(a) You can take your methodology and shove it.* (pragmatics)
(b) Can you take your methodology and shove it?*

(Lakoff 1973: 294)

In addition, a sentence can be ambiguous syntactically, semantically *as well as* pragmatically. According to Lakoff (1973), utterances like (5) are syntactically ambiguous, and utterances like (6) are semantically ambiguous, whereas utterances like (7) is pragmatically ambiguous since the relation between the speaker and the hearer and their positions in the real world is not clear.

(5) *They don't know how good meat tastes.*
(6) *The police came into the room and everyone swallowed his cigaret.*
(7) *Please shut the window.* (Lakoff 1973: 294-295)

If the speaker and the addressee are equal in positions, then by example (7), the speaker means *'I'm asking you to do this as a favor to me, since I can't constrain you to do it'*, and the addressee would be able to refuse to cooperate by saying, for instance, '*Oh, it's*

so hot in here!' (Lakoff 1973:295). However, if the speaker is superior to the addressee, then the sentence can mean '*I'm asking you to do this, but I really have the power to force you, I'm just acting like a nice guy',* and the addressee would obey the order. On the other hand, if the speaker and the addressee are longtime friends who do not need to use polite forms in their conversations, according to Lakoff (1973:295), the use of the term *please* between them seems unusual.

Lakoff (1973) strongly suggests that a pragmatic approach, which refers to speakers' view of their relations with addressees, their view of the 'real-world' situation and their desire or lack, thereof, to change the communicative situation is necessary and unavoidable in analyzing a language. She thus proposes the following rules of pragmatics:

RULES OF PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE
1. *Be clear*
2. *Be polite* (Lakoff, 1973: 296)

Speakers can therefore take one of the following two pragmatic approaches whilst communicating: speakers can convey their message directly and clearly. In this case, Lakoff refers to the rules proposed by Grice, which she considers as the rules of clarity. Alternatively, speakers may wish to be less clear and therefore be more polite, since clarity is often the opposite of politeness (Lakoff 1973:296-297): "It seems to be the case that, when Clarity conflicts with Politeness, in most cases (but not, as we shall see, all) politeness supersedes: it is considered more important in a conversation to avoid offense than to achieve clarity" (Lakoff 1973:297-298).

Following this assumption, Lakoff also offers her 'rules of politeness':

RULES OF POLITENESS

1. *Don't impose*
2. *Give options*
3. *Make a feel good-be friendly* (Lakoff 1973: 298)

Each rule can be expressed through certain linguistic forms. For instance, to obey the first rule, speakers use interrogative sentences to ask permission (example 8), or they choose passive and impersonal sentences (example 9). Examples (10) and (11) are examples of the second rule. Speakers, by using hedges or particles (e.g. *I guess* or *isn't it*), provide addressees with greater freedom in their responses.

(8) *May I ask how much you paid for that vase, Mr. Hoving?*
(9) *Dinner is served.*
(10) *I guess it's time to leave.*
(11) *It's time to leave, isn't it?*

(Lakoff 1973: 298-300)

While the first and second rules are used to avoid imposition, speakers may use the third rule to express friendship, "camaraderie," and equality. To do so, specific expressions (e.g. *'y'know'*, '*I mean'*), first names or nicknames instead of titles, and pronouns of solidarity (e.g. the French *tu*) - in languages that have such distinguished pronouns for solidarity- are used (Lakoff 1973: 301-302).

Watts (2003), reviewing Lakoff's theory, interprets her rules of politeness differently, which make them easier to understand. He refers to the three rules suggested by Lakoff as "*formal* (or *impersonal*) *politeness* (Don't Impose)", "*informal politeness*

(Give Options)" and "*intimate politeness* (Make A Feel Good)", which are represented through the following examples (Watts 2003:60-61).

(12) *I'm sorry to disturb you, but….* (formal politeness)
(13) *Would you mind closing the window?* (informal politeness)
(14) *Hey! That's a terrific suit you've got on there!* (intimate politeness)

(Watts 2003:61)

Lakoff's (1973) rules of politeness may seem applicable to a real language, yet in terms of the separation of politeness and clarity, they leave readers with ambiguity. Even though Lakoff claims that there is a difference between politeness and clarity, she acknowledges that the first rule of politeness (i.e. "Don't impose") relates to the rules of conversation or clarity, proposed by Grice: "We can look at the rules of conversation as subcases of Rule 1 [don't impose]: their purpose is to get the message communicated in the shortest time with the least difficulty: that is, to avoid imposition on the addressee (by wasting his time with meandering or trivia, or confusing him and making him look bad)" (Lakoff 1973:303). It is also argued by Watts (2003:59) that in spite of Lakoff's pragmatic approach to politeness, she is only concerned with the acceptability or non-acceptability of polite utterances.

It is important to highlight that although Lakoff (1973) proposes these rules based on English data, she argues that her three rules of politeness are, in fact, universal:

> I'm claiming here that these rules are universal. But clearly customs vary. Are these statements contradictory? I think not. What I think happens, in case two cultures differ in their interpretation of the politeness of an action or an utterance, is that they have the same three rules, but different orders of precedence for these rules.

> An example: It is said that it is polite in Chinese society to belch after a meal (if you are not the one responsible for the cooking). But this is not polite in our society. In our society, R1 [first rule: don't impose] takes precedence: one must not impose one's internal workings on someone else. But in Chinese society R3 [third rule: make a feel good- be friendly] takes precedence: show appreciation, make the other guy feel good.
>
> (Lakoff 1973: 303-304)

Lakoff's reasoning for her claim of universality, however, seems disputable. First, Lakoff (1973), while proposing her rules of politeness, did not mention that participants in a polite conversation should follow the order of rules of politeness. Secondly, it seems unreasonable to think that speakers should follow the order of rules and that they are not free to choose the appropriate rule depending on the context.

In 1983, Leech introduced another prominent study on politeness by formulating rules of politeness, namely Principles of Politeness (PP). Leech argues that we may not be able to explain some communicative situations (e.g. indirectness) using Grice's Cooperative Principle alone (1983: 80). For instance, the two following examples of Leech show that speakers may choose to convey their messages indirectly in order to be polite, which would be violations of Grice's principles.

(15) *A: We'll all miss Bill and Agatha, won't we?*
B: Well, we'll all miss BĬLL.

(16) *P* [parent]*: Someone's eaten the icing off the cake.*
C [child]*: It wasn't MĚ.* (Leech 1983: 80)

According to Leech, in example (15), speaker B by answering only part of the question tries to be polite to the third party, a violation of Grice's rule of Quantity (i.e. "Make your contribution as informative as is required [for the current purposes of the exchange]. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required"). Likewise, Leech argues

that in example (16), the parent uses the impersonal pronoun *someone* instead of *you* to avoid "a direct accusation" in order to be respectful to the child, which will be a violation of Grice's rule of Relation (i.e. "Be Relevant") (Leech 1983: 80-81). To indicate the necessity of both the Cooperative Principle (CP) and Principles of Politeness (PP), Leech (1983) argues that while Cooperative Principle (CP) "enables one participant in a conversation to communicate on the assumption that the other participant is being cooperative," Principles of Politeness (PP) enable us "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place"(Leech 1983: 82).

Therefore, in 1983, Leech proposes six Maxims (i.e. principles) of politeness as follows:

(I) TACT MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)
(a) Minimize cost to *other* [(b) Maximize benefit to *other*]

(II) GENEROSITY MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)
(a) Minimize benefit to *self* [(b) Maximize cost to *self*]

(III) APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
(a) Minimize dispraise of *other* [(b) Maximize praise of *other*]

(IV) MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
(a) Minimize praise of *self* [(b) Maximize dispraise of *self*]

(V) AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives)
(a) Minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*
[(b) Maximize agreement between *self* and *other*]

(VI) SYMPATHY MAXIM (in assertives)
(a) Minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*
[(b) Maximize sympathy between *self* and *other*] (Leech 1983:132)

To better understand the above Principles of Politeness, however, we need to clarify the terminology used by Leech (1983). The terms 'impositive', 'commissive', 'expressive' and 'assertive', which were originally introduced by Searle (1979[1975a]), represent the following situations:

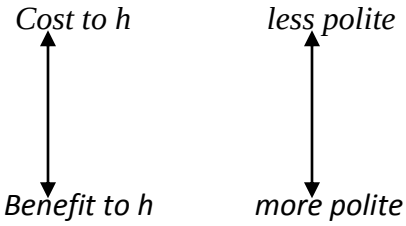
> ASSERTIVES commit *s*[speaker] to the truth of the expressed proposition: *eg* stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, claiming, reporting….
>
> DIRECTIVES [impositives] are intended to produce some effect through action by the hearer: ordering, commanding, requesting, advising, and recommending….
>
> COMMISSIVES commit *s*[speaker] (to a greater or lesser degree) to some future action; *eg* promising, vowing, offering…
>
> EXPRESSIVES have the function of expressing, or making known, the speaker's psychological attitude towards a state of affairs which the illocution presupposes; *eg* thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, condoling, etc…
>
> (Leech 1983: 105-106)

The term *self* also points to the speaker, and the term *other* points to the addressee or a third party who may not be present in the conversation (Leech 1983: 131). Leech (1983) states that, in general, politeness is more about *other* than *self,* and that politeness towards addressee seems more important to a speaker than politeness towards a third party. In addition, in his view, negative politeness (i.e. "avoidance of discord") is more used than positive politeness (i.e. "seeking concord") (1983:133).

In Leech's theory (1983), the degree of politeness is defined based on cost and benefit that speakers' beliefs or utterances may achieve towards addressees. Although Leech (1983) does not clarify what exactly he means by the terms *cost* or *benefit*, his examples show that any utterance that imposes less on addressees would lead to greater benefit towards addressees. He (1983:107) also claims that politeness is an asymmetrical phenomenon in the sense that what seems polite to hearers or third parties is in fact impolite to speakers. In a similar way, what seems polite to speakers may be impolite to other participants of the conversation. We can, therefore, conclude that the term *cost*

conveys impoliteness, whereas the term *benefit* conveys politeness. The following examples, which are examples of the Tact Maxim, illustrate how the degree of politeness can change in similar situations (e.g. using imperative in all sentences). While, for instance, the first sentence of the following example is seen as an order, the last one is understood as an offer.

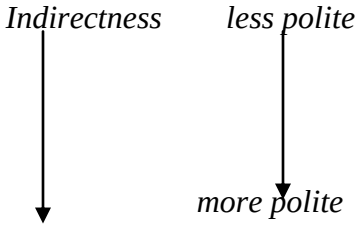
17) *1) Peel these potatoes.*
2) Hand me the newspaper.
3) Sit down..
4) Look at that.
5) Enjoy your holiday.
6) Have another sandwich..



(Leech 1983: 107)

In addition to the cost/benefit scale, the association of indirectness with politeness is seen as an important criterion of evaluation. The relation between indirectness and politeness is shown in the following examples of the Tact Maxim, in which the imperative, used in the first sentence, represents the most direct and thus the least polite sentence. On the other hand, the last sentence of example (18) is seen as the least direct and therefore the most polite sentence.

18) *1) Answer the phone.*
2) I want you to answer the phone.
3) Will you answer the phone?
4) Can you answer the phone?
5) Would you mind answering the phone?
6) Could you possibly answer the phone?
etc.



(Leech 1983:108)

In his study of imperatives, Leech (1983) argues that sentences like (3)-(6) of example (18) are alternatives to declarative sentences like (1) and (2), which imply imposition.

The use of interrogatives, in general, mitigates imposition since they give addressees "freedom of response." While 'will' and 'can' give freedom of response to addressees who can say either 'yes' or 'no', the use of subjunctive modals like 'would' and 'could', likewise, give addressees the opportunity to answer to questions that refer to 'hypothetical actions' and that can be seen as unrelated to "the real world" (1983: 119-121). In addition, the use of some terms (e.g. *possibly*, *please*, *kindly*, etc.) may lessen more the imposition on addressees (Leech 1983:121). The scale of politeness using alternative sentences to imperatives or impositives may be well illustrated, once again, by the following examples, which show how the degree of politeness increases in interrogative forms of the sentence 'take me home':

(19) *(1) Take me home.*
(2) Can you / Are you able to take me home?
(3) Would you take me home?
(4) Could you take me home?
(5) Could you possibly take me home?
(6) Would you mind taking me home? (Leech 1983: 119-121)

Other Maxims are also explained in terms of cost to speakers and benefit to hearers. In the following examples, sentences that express "minimize benefit to self: maximize cost to self" (sentences 2 and 3 of example 20) represent politeness in terms of the Generosity Maxim, whereas other sentences that express benefit to the speaker and cost to the addressee are considered impolite.

20) *1) You can lend me your car. (impolite)*
2) I can lend you my car.
3) You must come and have dinner with us.
4) We must come and have dinner with you. (impolite) (Leech 1983:133)

Similarly, the Approbation Maxim, which requires one to "minimize dispraise of other; maximize praise of other" is applied to examples like *What a marvellous meal you cooked!* and not to examples like *What an awful meal you cooked!* (Leech 1983:135). The Modesty Maxim, on the other hand, which requires one to "minimize praise of self; maximize dispraise of self" explains politeness in utterances like *How stupid of me!* , but not utterances like *How stupid of you! or How clever of me!* (Leech 1983:136).

Although it seems that the Politeness Principle (PP) explains various communicative situations, Leech (1983) acknowledges that in order to analyze many situations, other principles like the Irony Principle (IP), which may be incompatible with CP or PP, are needed. According to Leech (1983:142), IP "enables a speaker to be impolite while seeming to be polite":

(21) *That's all I wanted!*
(22) *With friends like him, who needs enemies?*
(23) *Bill wanted that news like he wanted a hole in the head.* (Leech 1983: 142)

By contrast, speakers may use another principle, namely 'banter'. 'Banter' helps speakers to show solidarity and friendly behavior towards addressees by being impolite:

24) *What a mean cowardly trick!* ("referring to a particular clever gambit")
25) *Here comes trouble!* (Leech 1983: 144)

There are also "metalinguistic aspects of politeness" that should be considered in speech (Leech 1983). For instance, "speaking at the wrong time (interrupting)" or "being silent at the wrong time" can be disrespectful to addressees (Leech 1983: 139). Paradoxically, being indirect is considered as a metalinguistic aspect of politeness by Leech (1983): "Consequently we sometimes find it necessary to refer to the speech acts in which we or

our interlocutors are engaged, in order to request a reply, to seek permission for speaking, to apologize for speaking, etc […] Such utterances are 'metalinguistic' in that they refer, in the mode of *oratio obliqua* [i.e. indirect speech][...], to illocutions of the current conversation" (Leech 1983: 139). Speakers may, therefore, prefer to use sentences like (26) and (28) instead of examples (27) and (29) in order to avoid imposition and in order to be inoffensive (1983:139-140):

(26) *May I ask if you're married?*
(27) *Are you married?* (Leech 1983:139)

(28) *I must warn you not to discuss this in public.*
(29) *I warn you that X* (Leech 1983:139)

In contrast to Leech (1983), we believe that indirect utterances do not belong to metalinguistic category, which include features of language that cannot be expressed through linguistic means (e.g. using hedges, interrogatives, etc).

The additional principles proposed by Leech (1983), the examination of linguistic forms (e.g. imperatives, interrogatives, etc.), and the consideration of metalinguistic aspect of politeness make Leech's research one of the most comprehensive studies of politeness that have been conducted by early linguists or pragmatists. However, his study has also been the subject of criticisms. For instance, Watts (2003) argues that Leech's model of politeness does not reveal how individuals could possibly be aware of "the degree and type of politeness" needed for a polite speech (2003: 69). In Watts et al. (2005: 7), the authors consider Leech's model "too theoretical" or "too abstract" which can not apply to "actual language usage," "the commonsense notion of politeness" or "a general theory of social interaction." In their view, the study of Leech is rather a

"classification of speech act types as polite or non-polite" (2005:7). Although we do not think that Leech's study is "too theoretical" or inapplicable to the real language usage, we do agree that not enough discussion on social interaction or on social factors (e.g. power, distance, gender, or age of interlocutors) is actually found in Leech's theory (1983).

Another well known piece of research on politeness that uses Grice's hypothesis as a platform is Brown and Levinson (1987), which has become a model for many subsequent studies since its publication[3]. Their theory has been repeatedly debated by linguists because of the belief in the universality of politeness. By examining data from English, Tzeltal ("a Mayan language spoken in the community of Tenejapa in Chiapas, Mexico" [1987:59]), and Tamil ("South Indian Tamil from a village in the Coimbatore District of Tamilnadu" [1987:59]), the authors show the similarity of polite linguistic structures and strategies in three unrelated languages, which enable them to bring the idea of a universal theory of politeness. Occasionally, they also give examples in several other languages (e.g. Japanese).

Brown and Levinson's study is also well-known for formulating politeness theories in terms of 'face threatening act' (FTA), although they have neither clearly defined nor explained what this actually means. It is important to point out that the term 'face' in Brown and Levinson's theory has been borrowed from Goffman. The notion of face that was introduced by Goffman (1967) refers to a "positive social image" that an individual wishes to have whilst communicating with others: "Face is an image of self

[3] "Interest in the socio-cultural phenomenon of politeness and the ways in which it is realized in language usage has certainly grown since Brown and Levinson's seminal article in 1978" (Watts et al. 2005:1).

delineated in terms of approved social attributes..." (Goffman 1967:5). The way others treat an individual will depend on the attitude and manner of the individual towards them (see Goffman 1956). Therefore, an individual expresses himself in a positive way to be evaluated positively by others. Through this perspective, the notion of face can be related to deference or politeness. If an individual wants to be respected, he needs to treat others with respect:

> The individual may desire, earn, and deserve deference, but by and large he is not allowed to give it to himself, being forced to seek it from others. In seeking it from others, he finds he has added reason for seeking them out, and in turn society is given added assurance that its members will enter into interaction and relationships with one another. (Goffman 1956:478)

The notion of 'face', however, is interpreted differently by Brown and Levinson (1987). In their view, to avoid any conflict during a course of interaction and to avoid being threatened by others, speakers demonstrate care for the images, emotions and feelings of others. While Goffman's theory is about 'a quest for face', Brown and Levinson's theory is about 'avoidance of face loss'.

> Our notion of 'face' is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face'. Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction [….] That is, normally everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' faces, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each other's face….
>
> (Brown and Levinson 1987:61)

The term ‘face threatening act’ or FTA thus refers to Brown and Levinson’s interpretation of the term ‘face’. In their theory, by using politeness strategies, speakers try not to threaten others by their act, so they cannot be threatened by others’ actions. Brown and Levinson further consider two different kinds of face: positive and negative face. Positive face, which leads to the theory of positive politeness, refers to individuals wanting to be approved of by other members of their group or society (i.e. approval of “self-image”). By contrast, negative face refers to individuals seeking “freedom of action and freedom from imposition” (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). The negative face, in turn, is the basis of negative politeness.

In the next section, we review some important politeness strategies in Brown and Levinson’s theory including the two main strategies: positive and negative politeness. In passing, however, it should be noted that Brown and Levinson (1987), unlike previous studies of politeness, briefly mention the social factors that influence politeness strategies chosen by speakers. According to the authors, speakers should consider three social variables in order to be able to decide the extent to which they need to care about others’ images (i.e. “the assessment of the seriousness of an FTA”) and, ultimately, what strategy to choose in a particular situation: the “social distance” between speakers and hearers, the “relative power” of speakers and hearers and the “absolute ranking of imposition in the particular culture” (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 74-84).

2.2. POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN BROWN AND LEVINSON'S MODEL

As mentioned previously, Brown and Levinson (1987) define politeness in terms of face threatening act (FTA). According to their model, if speakers choose to undertake the face threatening act (FTA), they can do so by choosing different strategies. Speakers can decide whether they want their intention to be clear for listeners (i.e. an 'on-record' action), or whether they prefer to convey their messages ambiguously (i.e. an 'off record' action). If speakers choose to be clear, they can send their messages in the most direct and unambiguous way possible (i.e. an 'on record strategy without redressive action'/ a 'bald- on-record' action). However, in many cases, speakers may manipulate their messages and choose strategies to avoid threatening participants' images by their actions (i.e. an 'on record strategy with redressive action'). An 'on record strategy with redressive action' then results in two main strategies: positive and negative politeness (see Brown and Levinson 1987).

A 'bald-on-record' action occurs when speakers desire the message to be as clear as possible. Brown and Levinson (1987:94-95) claim that this strategy is parallel to Grice's rules (discussed in section 2.1.) because by applying this strategy, speakers look for 'efficient communication': " The prime reason for bald-on-record usage may be stated simply: in general, whenever S [speaker] wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency *more than* he wants to satisfy H [hearer]'s face, even to any degree, he will choose the bald-on-record strategy" (Brown and Levinson 1987:95). The 'bald-on-record' strategy may be used in circumstances where there is minimal threat to the addressee's emotions or image such as urgency, desperation, request, welcoming or greetings. What is,

however, common in all cases or at least in most cases is that speakers use the imperative to convey their messages (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 69, 95-101). The following examples are instances of the bald-on-record strategy in various situations (i.e. urgency, giving orders or begging, invitation, offers, farewell, advice or warnings, etc.).

(30) *Help!*
(31) *Watch out!*
(32) *Give money.*
(33) *Forgive me.*
(34) *Come in, don't hesitate, I'm not busy.*
(35) *(You must) have some more cake.*
(36) *Take care of yourself, be good, have fun..*
(37) *ma ba št' ušahat.* (Tzeltal)
Don't fall down.

(38) *Your headlights are on!*
(39) *Don't worry about me.* (Brown and Levinson 1987: 96-101)

In order to place emphasis on an order or to soften an order, speakers may use terms such as *look, listen,* or terms and linguistic devices used for polite strategies such as *please* (e.g. *Please come in, (sir)* [Brown and Levinson 1987:101]). Despite the fact that speakers convey their intention directly and despite the use of the imperative, some of the above examples (e.g. *Forgive me*) indicate that politeness can be expressed through the 'bald-on-record' strategy.

Similarly, Lee- Wong (1994) argues that in Chinese culture, depending on the type of relationship between interlocutors, direct request using the bald-on-record strategy can be polite: "Whereas English native speakers would say: 'Would you mind helping me do X?' or 'Could you please do X?' Chinese native speakers would frame their requests direct: 'Please do X' or 'Please help me to do X'. From the Westerners'

viewpoint such direct bald on record requests may understandably be perceived as impolite. From the Chinese point of view these are socially acceptable and polite" (1994:500). However, as it is also shown in the examples of Brown and Levinson (1987), this strategy may not be exclusively considered as a polite strategy because of its implementation in less deferential or even impolite contexts.

A'bald-on-record' strategy may be used when the speaker is not truly concerned with the addressee's image: "Another set of cases where non-redress occurs is where S [speaker]'s want to satisfy H[hearer]'s face is small, either because S is powerful and does not fear retaliation or non-cooperation from H […] or because S wants to be rude, or doesn't care about maintaining face. A good example of socially acceptable rudeness comes in teasing or joking" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 97). While examples (40) and (41) are instances of imperatives used by a speaker who is more powerful than the addressee, example (42) is used to tease a baby.

(40) *Bring me wine, Jeeves.*
(41) *In future, you must add the soda after the whisky.*
(42) *ʔok'an. ʔilinan.* (Tzeltal)
Cry. Get angry. (Brown and Levinson 1987:97)

In contrast to the 'bald-on-record' strategy, other 'on-record' strategies merely indicate respect and deference towards the addressee.

2.2.1. Positive and Negative Politeness

Positive politeness ("polite friendliness" [Brown and Levinson 1987:283]) refers to the situations when speakers and hearers have similar desires and goals, and there is no distance between them. Speakers consider hearers members of the same groups or

communities, friends, etc. Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest three major strategies for positive politeness, which are divided into various other sub-strategies (1987: 70, 101-129). The following schema summarizes the strategies.

Claim 'common ground':

1. Notice, attend to H[4] (his interests, wants, needs, goods)
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
3. Intensify interest to H
4. Use in-group identity markers
5. Seek agreement
6. Avoid disagreement
7. Presuppose/raise/assert common ground
8. Joke

Convey that S and H are cooperators

9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants
10. Offer, promise
11. Be optimistic
12. Include both S and H in the activity
13. Give (or ask for) reasons
14. Assume or assert reciprocity

Fulfil H's want (for some X)

15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

(see Brown and Levinson 1987: 102)

Negative politeness ("polite formality" [Brown and Levinson 1987:283]), on the other hand, indicates that speakers feel distance between themselves and hearers and strive to respect addressees' wishes or "freedom of action" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70). Like positive politeness, negative politeness has been defined by main strategies

[4] In the categorization of Brown and Levinson, H stands for hearer and S stands for speaker.

which in turn include several other strategies (1987:129-211). The following is a summary of negative politeness strategies:

Be direct
1. Be conventionally indirect

Don't presume/assume
2. Question, hedge

Don't coerce H
3. Be pessimistic
4. Minimize the imposition
5. Give deference

Communicate S's want to not impinge on H
6. Apologize
7. Impersonalize S and H: avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you'
8. State the FTA as a general rule
9. Nominalize

Redress other wants of H's, derivative from negative face
10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H

(see Brown and Levinson 1987: 131)

2.2.1.1. Positive Politeness Linguistic Forms

From Brown and Levinson's theory, it can be concluded that by positive politeness, speakers wish to show friendship and intimacy toward addressees. To do so, speakers may choose to employ the "use in group identity markers" strategy. By using this strategy, speakers suggest that they all belong to the same group and therefore have "common ground" (Brown and Levinson 1987:107-109). Certain terms of address, be they pronouns, generic names or specific terms of address (e.g. *mate, buddy, pal, honey,*

dear, brother, sister, Mom, sweetheart, guys, fellas, etc.) can be used in the implementation of this strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987:107-108).

(43) *Here mate, I was keeping that seat for a friend of mine…*
(44) *Pattu ruupaay ku Turaa. enekku veeNum.* (Tamil)
Give us 10 rupees, sonny. I need it.
(Brown and Levinson 1987:108-109)

In addition to the above terms of address, for the sake of this strategy, in some languages, diminutives or endearments (i.e. *a little*) can be used as terms of address, *with* terms of address, or as a particle to make the conversation soft. Similarly, in languages with distinguished second person pronouns, a pronominal system may be used (see Brown and Levinson 1987) for the same purpose:

> In many languages […] the second person plural pronoun of address doubles as an honorific form to singular respected or distant alters. Such usages are called T/V systems, after the French *tu* and *vous* (see Brown and Gilman 1960). In such languages, the use of a T (singular non-honorific pronoun) to a non-familiar alter can claim solidarity. (Brown and Levinson 1987:107)

The use of diminutives for politeness can be illustrated in the following example from Tzeltal. The particle *ala* (i.e. 'a little') is used as "an overall endearment for the topic of the conversation," indicating "the emotional bond" between the interlocutors (Brown and Levinson 1987: 109).

(45) *A: '…ʔ ay binti ya kala pas šane,' šon yuʔun, 'nail to hoy ta koral kala mut.'*
'there's something else I'll a-little do', I said, 'first I'll put my-little chickens in an enclosure.

B: la wan ʔaʔ hoy ta koral ʔaʔ wala mut !
You perhaps put your-little chickens in an enclosure !

A: la. haʔ in ya sloʔ laben kala k'al.
I did. It's because they eat my-little cornfield up for (if I don't confine them, that is).

B: ya sloʔ ta me yaš ʔala č'iiše.
They eat (it) if it a-little grows up (big enough).

A: ʔala lawaltikiš!
It's a-little grown already! (Brown and Levinson 1987:109)

Another strategy of positive politeness that is worth mentioning is to "include both S [speaker] and H [hearer] in the activity" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 127-128). Speakers who choose this strategy try to avoid pointing directly at either speakers themselves or hearers: "By using an inclusive 'we' form, when S [speaker] really means 'you' or 'me', he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTAs [face-threatening acts]. Noting that *let's* in English is an inclusive 'we' form…" (Brown and Levinson1987: 127).

(46) *Let's get on with dinner, eh? (i.e. you)*
(47) *Let's stop for a bite.* (i.e. *I want a bite, so let's stop*)
(48) *Let's have a cookie, then. (i.e. me*)
(Brown and Levinson 1987:127)

Likewise, in Tzeltal and Tamil, the inclusive 'we' is used to mitigate requests or offers:

(49) *naama caappiTTalaamaa?* (Tamil)
Shall we (inclusive) eat?

(50) *hmahantik ʔaʔkʼuʔ.* (Tzeltal)
We (inclusive) borrow your blouse.

(51) *ya hȼ'ustik ʔin nae, meʔtik. yašʔoč tal ʔik'.* (Tzeltal)
We (inclusive) will shut the door, ma'am. The wind's coming in.

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 127)

According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 119-120), in certain Tamil dialects, expressions like '*my house'*, '*my father*', '*my car*', or '*our (exclusive) house*' are replaced by inclusive 'our' (e.g. '*our (inclusive) house*') as a form of positive politeness[5].

Depending on context, asking questions can also be a sign of politeness in many cases (e.g. *Do you want to come/go with me to the movies?* [Brown and Levinson 1987:122]). It should be borne in mind that in many languages 'negative questions' may be used as a polite linguistic structure. When speakers use negative questions, they presuppose that the hearers' answers are positive. In other words, speakers assume that they are aware of addressees' thoughts and wishes. Negative questions may therefore be used to offer things, opinions, etc. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 122-123).

(52) *Wouldn't you like a drink?*

(53) *ma yaˀ we wah meˀ?* *Or* *ma yaˀ wuč ˀek tal?* (Tzelt)
Won't you eat, Mother? *Won't you drink too, Father?*

(54) *Don't you think it's marvellous!?*

(Brown and Levinson 1987:122-123)

The explanation of Brown and Levinson (1987) indicates that speakers normally assume that addressees reply positively to negative questions. Yet, it is possible to respond negatively to negative questions. For instance an addressee can very well say *No, thanks. I just had one* in response to question (52). We should, however, acknowledge that whether the addressee responds positively or negatively to the question, the question shows the polite behavior of the speaker. In fact, negative question as a strategy for

[5] To clarify the examples, we should explain the distinction between 'inclusive we' and 'exclusive we' in pronominal system. 'Inclusive we' refers to speakers and addressees, with or without third parties, whereas 'exclusive we' refers to speakers and third parties, but not addressees (see Cysouw 2002).

politeness has been around for a long time. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the use of negative questions as a sign of politeness can be traced back to Latin: "In Latin, the use of *nonne* in questions presumes a 'yes' answer in a similar way, and presumably would have been available for this positive-politeness function" (Brown and Levinson 1987:123).

(55) *Nōnne illās litterās scrīpsistī?* (Latin)
You wrote that letter, didn't you? Or Didn't you write that letter?

(Wheelock 2000:285)

2.2.1.2. Negative Politeness Linguistic Forms

In contrast to positive politeness, negative politeness indicates that instead of close relationship or 'common ground', there is a social distance between speakers and addressees. One of the well known strategies for negative politeness is indirectness that prevents imposition (See Brown and Levinson 1987). Fagyal et al. (2006) define indirectness[6] as follows: "[...] indirect speech acts allow speakers to perform a particular speech act while showing no 'direct' signs of acting in the way they intended" (Fagyal et al. 2006: 207). Speakers, in fact, try to manipulate conventional linguistic structures or constructions in order to convey their intentions in a desirable manner. For instance, speakers may replace an imperative by an interrogative to soften an order as in example (56). Instead of saying 'pass me the salt', the speaker uses an interrogative in order to be

[6] It is important to note that indirect speech, in the study of politeness, should not be confused with reported speech, which is referred to as indirect speech in many studies. In reported speech, we normally refer to or report another speech: *Peter said that he was sick* (Janssen and Wurff 1996: 8).

respectful. Alternatively, speakers may just express their request differently as in example (57).

(56) *Can you please pass the salt?*
(57) *I'm looking for a comb.* (instead of *I need a comb*)

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 133-134)

Searle (1975:76) considers politeness "the most prominent motivation for indirectness in requests..." It should, however, be remembered that not all indirect questions or assertions are considered polite. While examples (58) and (59) are polite sentences, examples (60) and (61) are instances of rude and impolite utterances (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 133-136).

(58) *Could you pass the salt?*
(59) *You couldn't possibly/ by any chance/ I suppose/ perhaps pass the salt (please), (could you)?*
(60) *Couldn't you (possibly) pass the salt?* ("This, however, is OK if it is a suggestion, that is, if it is in H's interest")
(61) *You can pass the salt.*

(Brown and Levinson 1987:133-136)

Hedges (i.e. terms like *please*/ *if I may*/ *I suppose*, etc.), subjunctives, tag questions, possibility expressions or expressions like *please* should be added to questions or negative assertions to transform them into indirect and polite utterances (Brown and Levinson 1987:133-136). It is important to briefly note that 'hedges' alone, which are widely used in languages, can change an ordinary sentence to a polite sentence (Brown and Levinson 1987: 145-173): "In the literature, a 'hedge' is a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set; it says of

that membership that it is *partial*, or true only in certain respects, or that it is *more* true and complete than perhaps might be expected..." (Brown and Levinson 1987:145). 'If clause', for instance, is an adverbial hedge that is frequently used in English to express politeness.

(62) *Would you close the window, if I may ask you? / if you'll forgive my asking? / if you want to help me?/ if you don't mind?*

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 163)

"Giving deference" is another frequently used strategy of negative politeness. To show deference, speakers, by humbling themselves or by raising addressees, try to treat addressees as though they are more powerful or from a higher social ranking (Brown and Levinson 1987:178). Linguistic forms that express deference can be pronouns of respect, general address forms (example 63), titles, or certain verbs and expressions (examples 64 and 65), etc. (Brown and Levinson 1987:178-187).

(63) *Yes/ Thank you, sir.*

(64) *etanaalum, cari.* (Tamil)
Whatever you say, fine

(65) *We look forward very much to dining* [i.e. instead of *eating*] *with you.*

(Brown and Levinson 1987:181-186)

In this strategy, speakers may also try to avoid direct address. For instance, using plural forms of pronouns to address a single addressee or referent prevents direct address. The plural forms of pronouns are known as pronouns of respect in many languages. In languages with a T/V system, speakers may therefore use second person plural to address a single person. In some languages, first person plural (i.e. inclusive 'we') or even third

person plural is equally used to show deference and respect to the hearer (Brown and Levinson 1987:198-199).

An interesting case of plural of respect is attested in Tamil. In Tamil, the plural of first and second persons are used to express respect and deference. Instead of saying '*your (singular) house'*, while addressing a single person (e.g. a boy), speakers would say *onka viiTu, 'your (plural) house'* (Brown and Levinson 1987: 199). For the first person, both 'inclusive we' and 'exclusive we' can be used in a polite utterance. The phrase 'my father', thus, in Tamil would be replaced by '*our (exclusive) father*' (*enka appaa*) or by *'our inclusive father'*(*namma appaa*), when conveying positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987: 199). As a sign of politeness, 'inclusive we', in Tamil, can also replace 'you' by lower-status people to address a person of higher-status (Brown and Levinson 1987: 202). In such cases, the people of higher ranking positions probably refer to themselves with "royal we" and, as a result, lower ranking people would address them with similar terms:

> In such a dyad, the higher-status person is likely to refer to himself with the 'royal "we"'- that is, with *naam*. So the use of the same pronoun to refer to the same referent by a different (lower-rank) speaker could be seen as a dramatic point-of-view operation in which the inferior adopts the superior's point of view. Another possible source is the idiom of ownership: the master owns his servants, and they 'possess' him as their master. So to address him as 'you and I' is to convey the absorption of the inferior in the superior's domain.
>
> (Brown and Levinson 1987: 202)

Additionally, in Tamil, a plural form of pronoun may also be used to address the third person (i.e." 'they/their' for 'he/ his' or 'she/hers'") to indicate respect:

(66) *motal mantiri avaanka mantirikal ooTa pooraanka.*
The Prime Minister they go accompanied by ministers.

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 200)

In English, employing terms of address like *Madam, Sir, Lady,* and titles (e.g. *Mr. President*) can be another strategy to avoid direct address. By using these terms, speakers prefer to point at referents rather than addressees (Brown and Levinson 1987: 182-183). Additionally, in particular situations, we can attest the use of titles by speakers to refer to themselves. For instance, a king could refer to himself as 'His Majesty' in order to point to his "duties and rights of office" rather than "himself as an individual":

(67) *His Majesty is not amused.* (Brown and Levinson 1987:204)

Speakers may also exclude themselves from the conversation by "impersonalizing S [speaker] and H[hearer]." In fact, speakers sometimes try to avoid directly mentioning one or both participants of a conversation. Impersonal verbs (example 68), or the passive voice (example 69) are linguistic means used for this purpose.

(68) *It appears/ seems (to me) that…* (Brown and Levinson 1987:192)
(69) *I regret that…*
It is regretted that…. (Brown and Levinson 1987:194)

In section 2.2., we discussed strategies related to an 'on record' act. As mentioned previously, Brown and Levinson (1987) also propose an 'off-record' action, as another strategy of politeness. In contrast to an 'on record' act, in an 'off-record' strategy, the communicative intention is indirectly conveyed in an ambiguous and unclear way. By implying this strategy the speaker "leaves himself an 'out' by providing himself with a

number of defensible interpretations; he cannot be held to have committed himself to just one particular interpretation of his act" (Brown and Levinson 1987:211). To achieve this goal, speakers may consider the following sub-strategies: " Give hints", "Overstate", "Use contradictions", "Be ironic", "Use metaphors", "Use rhetorical questions", "Over-generalize", "Be incomplete" , etc. (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 211-227). The following example is an example of the "Give hints" strategy:

(70) *This soup's a bit bland.* (*c.i.* ["conversationally implicates"] *Pass the salt*)

(Brown and Levinson 1987:215)

Sell (2005 [1992]:113) argues that the 'off-record' strategy is therefore "the most polite strategy" in the framework of the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) as any face-threatening act or imposition may not be perceivable by the addressee because of the ambiguity of the utterance. Yet, Blum-Kulka (1987) shows that, in English and Hebrew, off record indirectness may not be considered more polite than on-record indirectness while making requests: " I shall argue that at least for request [...] politeness and indirectness are linked in case of conventional indirectness ['on record' indirectness], but not always in the case of non-conventional indirectness ['off record' indirectness]" (Blum-Kulka 1987:132). According to Blum-Kulka (1987:131), the "lack of concern for pragmatic clarity" can contribute to the impolite perception of a message.

Brown and Levinson's strategies of politeness have been the center of attention of many studies. We can hardly find any research on politeness that does not refer to Brown and Levinson's study or does not review it. However, their study has also been the subject of much criticism. A few criticisms offered by Watts (2003: 85-88, 95-96) are

that Brown and Levinson fail to mention the role of addressee in the politeness strategy and that they do not give any consideration to distance and power as more important factors in politeness strategy (see also Watts et al. 2005). Similarly, their theory does not offer any explanation as to how an appropriate strategy is chosen nor does it show that "two or more strategies might be chosen at the same time" (Watts 2003:88). In addition, Watts (2003:97) states that Brown and Levinson do not revise their model of politeness strategies according to the influence of the presence of third parties, although they mention this problem in their original research of 1978. Subsequently, Watts (2003:95) says that Brown and Levinson's examples do not present the real verbal communication or "ongoing discourse activity." The criticisms indicate that Brown and Levinson's theory overlooks social or contextual factors, which can play a crucial role in polite speech.

Watts (2003) argues that linguistic structures cannot be inherently polite and that the polite interpretation of linguistic structures depends on "ongoing verbal interaction" (Watts 2003:168). Moreover, other factors may contribute to the polite or lack of polite connotation of an expression**.** For instance, he argues that the polite interpretations of frequently used structures like *Would you mind….?* (e.g. *Would you mind closing the window?...*), which may usually seem polite, depend on the prosody and pitch of the utterance (2003: 180-181). Additionally, Brown and Levinson (1987) have been criticized for the way they approached the problem. Watts (2003) questions the association of politeness theory and 'face' theory. Similarly, Ide (1989:238-239) criticizes the theory of Brown and Levinson for not distinguishing between "behavior

strategy" and "linguistic strategy." For instance, while "Give deference," or "Minimize the imposition" are behavior strategies, "Impersonalize S [speaker] and H[hearer]," or "Use in group identity marker" are linguistic strategies. Ide (1989) believes that as a result of this confusion, there is confusion in categorizing some linguistic expressions. For instance, linguistic terms like plural pronouns (e.g. English *we*, or French *vous*) that are attributed to "Impersonalize H and S" strategy in Brown and Levinson study, can also be used for the behavior strategy like "Give deference" (Ide 1989:239).

Above all, however, the Brown and Levinson model of politeness has been criticized because of its claim about the universality of politeness strategies, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.3. THEORY OF UNIVERSALITY

Although the idea of the universality of politeness has been the belief of early linguists and studies (e.g. Lakoff), it was the study of Brown and Levinson (1987) that, for the first time, discussed the idea in detail by comparing several languages. However, the universal theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) has been widely criticized by more recent studies on politeness (e.g. Matsumoto 1988, Ide 1989, Janney and Arndt 1993, Hu 1994, Watts 2003). Brown and Levinson's research has been mostly criticized for two major aspects of their theory: 1) the universal notion of 'face', and 2) the universality of linguistic strategies.

As mentioned previously**,** Brown and Levinson's study is based on the notion of 'face', as introduced by Goffman (1967). The authors claim that all societies have the same concept of face, and as a result, the same concept of politeness:

> Central to our model is a highly abstract notion of 'face' which consists of two specific kinds of desires ('face-wants') attributed by interactants to one another: the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face), and the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face). This is the bare bones of a notion of face which (we argue) is universal, but which in any particular society we would expect to be the subject of much cultural elaboration.
>
> (Brown and Levinson 1987:13)

Their claim of the universality of the concept could not satisfy other linguists. Watts (2003:101-103) argues that Brown and Levinson ignore the social group that an individual belongs to, referring only to an "individualistic concept of face," and that such interpretation of face is not found in cultures in which social group matters. Hu (1994:45) argues that the notion of 'face' in Chinese culture is derived from two ancient Chinese words. One refers to 'reputation' and 'prestige' that an individual acquired through his life, and the other refers to the respect that people have for an individual because of his good moral character or reputation. Matsuwnoto (1988) discusses that the individualistic notion of face in Brown and Levinson's theory is in accordance with European and American culture. According to Matsuwnoto (1988:405), in Japanese culture, the image and the position of an individual depend on others' acceptance and perspective. In other words, it is not about what an individual wants, but rather his/her acceptance by the society: "What is of paramount concern to a Japanese is not his/her own territory, but the position in relation to the others in the group and his/her acceptance by those others. Loss

of face is associated with the perception by others that one has not comprehended and acknowledged the structure and hierarchy of the group. The Japanese concepts of face, then, are qualitatively different from those defined as universals by Brown and Levinson" (Matsuwnoto 1988: 405). Similarly, the study of Goddard (2004) indicates that a universal approach to the notion of 'face' or 'politeness' is disputable as these terms are defined differently in different cultures.

> To describe the cultural values and attitudes which explain preferred ways of speaking, there are two standard approaches so far as the metalanguage of descripition is concerned. One is the use of English terms such as "face", "politeness", and "respect". Here there is an evident danger of terminological ethnocentrism, because the meanings of such words do not correspond precisely to any words in the language being described and therefore presumably do not designate precisely any emic cultural category [...].
>
> (Goddard 2004:144)

It should be remembered that the original notion of 'face' brought by Goffman (1967) has been reinterpreted by Brown and Levinson (1987). Watts (2003:104-105) points to the fundamental difference between the notion of 'face' in Goffman's study and that found in Brown and Levinson's study. While the individual in Brown and Levinson's model expects to be accepted or respected by other members and his wishes and personality are already determined prior to the interaction, in Goffman's theory, the individual's wishes or self images depend on ongoing interaction and cannot be determined prior to the social interaction. Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) also believes that the notion of face has been altered in Brown and Levinson's study: "Brown and Levinson's cognitive concept of 'face' and the rational actor does not fit into Goffman's study of

interaction, which he understood to be about "not the individual and his psychology, but rather the syntactical relations among the acts of *different persons mutually present to one another* [1967:2, (...)]"" (2003: 1460). According to Bargiela-Chiappini (2003: 1461-1462), Goffman's theory reflects the original notion of face in Chinese culture.

In addition to the concept of politeness (i.e. concept of face), Brown and Levinson, on the basis of data from three different languages (English, Tamil, and Tzeltal), claim that all languages have similar strategies and linguistic means for politeness. However, the idea of using similar politeness strategies and same linguistic structures has also been rejected by many studies in the field. In Matsumoto's critical review (1988: 404) of the Brown and Levinson study, she argues that although politeness strategies and linguistic forms presented by Brown and Levinson can be found in Japanese, those strategies may not be used in similar situations. For instance, "Give deference," which is a strategy used for negative politeness in the Brown and Levinson theory, is employed differently in Japanese, where it is used to build a good relationship with the addressee rather than to avoid imposition on the addressee (i.e. negative politeness) (Matsumoto 1988: 409). In examples (71) and (72), "conventionalized expressions" are used to show deference in terms of speakers' desire to build good relationships with addressees.

(71) *Doozo yorosiku onegaisimasu.*
(lit.) 'I ask you to please treat me well/ take care of me'

(72) *Musume o doozo yorosiku onegaisimasu.*
(lit.) 'I ask you to please treat/take care of my daughter well'

(Matsumoto 1988:409)

If we try to apply to Brown and Levinson's model to examples (71) and (72) and thus consider the examples as "direct request," we encounter obstacles because direct requests express imposition on addressees and, therefore, the examples could not be examples of "Give difference" or 'negative politeness' (i.e. avoidance of imposition) in Japanese (Matsumoto 1988: 409-410). Although these examples are not examples of negative politeness in Brown and Levinson's theory, they express politeness if we try to define them in the Japanese culture. Showing dependency to addressees (i.e. especially showing dependency to seniors by juniors), in Japanese, is a sign of politeness and it is known as a politeness strategy since speakers consider seniors as people of higher positions who are reliable and have a sense of responsibility (Matsumoto 1988: 410). In Matsumoto's view, the impositions shown in examples like (71) and (72) are "deferent impositions," which "enhance the good self-image (that is, the 'face')" of addressees (1988:410).

Japanese speakers may also show respect to addressees by humbling themselves (examples 73 and 74).

(73) *Anoo, tumaranai mono desu ga…*
(lit.) 'Um, this is a trifling thing, but…'
'This is nothing much, but please accept it'

Or (if the gift is food),

(74) *Okuti ni awanai kamosiremasen ga, ohitotu doozo.*
(lit.) 'This may not suit your palate, but please accept just one'

(Matsumoto 1988: 412)

In the above examples, for instance, speakers show that their gifts may not satisfy addressees because addressees have excellent taste (Matsumoto 1988: 412). Matsumoto

(1988) compares these examples with a parallel example in English given by Brown and Levinson in their article of 1978 (example 75). She then states that the polite English example can be seen as a rude and disrespectful utterance since the speaker believes that S/he can satisfy the addressee with a "cheap little thing," and therefore there is no indication of the speaker's humbling (Matsumoto 1988: 412-413).

(75) *It's not much, it's just a little thing I picked up for a song in a bargain basement sale in Macy's last week, I thought maybe you could use it ((1978): 190(287))*

(Matsumoto 1988: 412)

Yet, using similar utterances can be acceptable in Japanese if they are used among intimates and in response to the appreciation of addressees (Matsumoto 1988: 413)

(76) *A1: Kono teeburukurosu, taisita mono zyanai n dakedo, tukaeru kasira.*
'this tablecloth is nothing much, but I wonder if you can use it.'

B1: Ara, watasi ni. Takai n desyoo. Konna sinpai sinaide ii no ni.
'Oh, is this for me? It's expensive, isn't it? You shouldn't have been so thoughtful.

A2: Ii no yo, Seibu no baagen seeru de katta n da kara sinpai sinaide. Tukaeru to ii kedo.
'That's O.K. I bought it at Seibu's [department store] bargain sale, so, don't worry. I hope you can use it.'

(Matsumoto 1988: 413)

Although conventional expressions are used in Japanese examples, Matsumoto (1988) argues that the use of formulaic expressions should not be seen as a lack of politeness strategies in Japanese:

> It might be said in objection to the examples above that they are almost all formulaic expressions, not generated as part of a strategy, and, thus, are not revealing manifestations of politeness phenomena. In a culture like the Japanese, however, such formulaic expressions are strategically indispensible, since they reinforce the impression of behavior in accordance with the social expectation in the situation in question, and demonstrate the speaker's understanding of the sociocultural system. Just as Americans typically try to sound spontaneous in conversational exchanges, Japanese try to use appropriate formulas.
>
> (Matsumoto 1988: 413-414)

Other formal and conventional polite linguistic forms that are obligatory in Japanese are 'honorifics'. The use of honorifics, like other deferential expressions in Japanese, indicates respect toward addressees by showing the awareness of speakers of the social ranking differences rather than trying to avoid imposition (i.e. negative politeness) (Matsumoto 1988). We first clarify the notion of 'honorifics':

> A type of 'relation-acknowledging device' that plays a major role in Japanese is what is called honorifics. Taken in their broader sense, honorifics are morphological and lexical encodings of social factors in communication, such as the relationship between the interlocutors, the referents, the bystanders, the setting, etc. (Matsumoto 1988: 414)

> Deference phenomena represent perhaps the most conspicuous intrusions of social factors into language structure, in the form of honorifics. By 'honorifics' in an extended sense we understand direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event.
>
> (Brown and Levinson 1987: 179)

'Honorifics' are formal expressions or forms that are used to show respect for addressees or referents. For instance the pronoun *vous* in languages with a T/V system, terms and titles like *professor , sir*, *Dr. , gentleman, esamaanka* ('Lord' in Tamil), or even terms like *dine* instead of *eat*, or *piece* instead of *bit* in English, are examples of honorifics

(Brown and Levinson 1987:179-185). While speakers of Japanese language should use 'honorifics' or other formal forms in their speech to indicate varying social statuses and rankings between speakers and addressees or referents, speakers in Brown and Levinson's theory, depending on which politeness strategy they choose, may not be required to use honorifics or formal expressions (see Ide 1989). For this reason, languages like Japanese are known as honorific languages, where honorifics are found in various grammatical categories (e.g. verbs, copulas (see example 77), nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc) (see Ide 1989, Matsumoto 1988).

The use of honorifics in Japanese can be illustrated by example (77). In this example, we see the three versions of the sentence 'Today is Saturday'. The example (77a) can be used in casual situations (e.g. among close friends, in newspaper articles) and thus it is an impersonal or intimate version of the utterance. On the other hand, the use of the verb *desu* makes example (77b) a polite sentence, which may be used in less informal situations (e.g. among strangers), and the use of the verb *degozai masu* makes the example (77c) the most polite version of all, which is used in formal settings (Matsumoto 1988: 415-416).

(77a) *Kyoo wa doyoobi da.*
today TOPIC Saturday COPULA-PLAIN

(77b) *Kyoo wa doyoobi desu.*
today TOPIC Saturday COPULA-POLITE

(77c) *Kyoo wa doyoobi degozai masu.*
today TOPIC Saturday COPULA-SUPER POLITE

(Matsumoto 1988: 415)

According to Matsumoto (1988:416), these examples may not be considered as face-threatening acts (FTA) in Brown and Levinson's theory. A sentence like 'Today is Saturday' is not a face threatening utterance in English, but it is a face threatening utterance in Japanese. Consequently, the theory of universality of politeness can very well be rejected: "The point concerning language arises from the fact that Brown and Levinson's framework fails to give a proper account of formal linguistic forms such as honorifics, which are among the major means of expressing linguistic politeness in some languages" (Ide 1989: 225-226).

Another example of honorifics in Japanese is shown in example (78). In contrast to the example (78a), which is known as an impolite utterance, example (78b) is polite since the speaker uses a honorific form of the verb to refer to "the action of a person of higher status, in this case a professor" (Ide 1989: 227).

(78a) *Sensei-wa kore-o yonda*
Prof.- TOP [topic] *read*
'The professor read this'

(78b) *Sensei-wa kore-o* ***o****yomi-****ni-nat****ta*
REF.[referent]. *HONO.* [honorific]. *PAST*
'The professor read this'

(Ide 1989: 227)

Comparing two Indo-European languages, English and Polish, Wierzbicka (1985:145) also concludes that linguistic features used for speech acts cannot be universal and they are "language- specific" and "culture-specific." Wierzbicka (1985) shows that while, in English, speakers choose to be indirect in order to be polite, politeness in Polish is shown by directness. Thus, the concept of politeness differs in these two societies. For

instance, speakers of Polish choose imperatives to give advice (example 79), whereas English speakers prefer interrogatives or conditional sentences for this matter (examples 80-83).

(79) *Ja ci radzę powiedz mu prawdę.*
'I advise you: tell him the truth.'

(80) *If I were you I would tell him the truth*
(81) *Why don't you tell him the truth? I think it would be best*
(82) *Maybe you ought to tell him the truth?*
(83) *Do you think it might be a good idea to tell him the truth?*

(Wierzbicka 1985:150)

According to Wierzbicka (1985), using different linguistic strategies and features is the result of cultural differences. In her view, indirectness can be associated with 'distance' and 'tolerance' (1985:145). As such, in Anglo-Saxon culture, where people intend to respect each others' privacy, or desires, linguistic features associated with indirectness (e.g. interrogatives, tag questions, hedges, etc.) are used. On the other hand, directness is associated with ' intimacy' and 'affection' (1985:145). Accordingly, in Polish culture where people respect each other by showing friendliness and affection, linguistic features associated with directness (e.g. imperatives) are relevant.

Although there is great opposition to the universal theory, a few studies indicate otherwise. Fagyal et al. (2006) study politeness in contemporary French using Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies. The authors claim that French speakers may choose any of a range of strategies (e.g. 'bald-on-record', 'negative' or 'positive' politeness, etc.) to show respect and politeness. For instance, speakers may choose the 'bald-on-record' strategy (see section 2.2.) if they want their intention to be clear for hearers. For that

reason, speakers may use imperatives to give friendly warnings (example 84). Or, speakers may choose negative politeness, using indirect speech acts (example 85), if they wish to exhibit distance and formality (see section 2.2.1.). Similarly, in example (86), the speaker chooses the passive construction to avoid pointing directly at addressees or referents, and thus he chooses negative politeness strategy (Fagyal et al. 2006: 200-207, 211).

(84) *Vos phares sont allumés!*
'Your headlights are on' (2006:202)

(85) *Tu peux fermer la fenêtre?*
'Can you close the window?' (2006: 207)

(86) *Le petit garçon a été poussé dans l'escalier*
'The little boy was pushed down the stairs (2006: 211)

Yet, another study of French does not completely support the theory of Brown and Levinson. Although some forms or structures, in general, may be used as polite linguistic features in French, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005:29) emphasizes that it is not possible to claim what definitively represent politeness in French because "forms" and "manners," which depend on social factors like " each speaker' age, social and cultural background," vary within a society from one place to another. Kerbrat-Orecchioni's point of view is supported by many linguists like Watts (2003) who claim that linguistic structures are not inherently polite and their polite interpretation depends on 'ongoing verbal communication'.

To study politeness in French, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005), therefore, analyzes linguistic politeness in a given setting and a particular context. Although she does not

believe in the universality theory of politeness, she adopts the face theory of Brown and Levinson to define politeness strategies. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005:30-31) considers two strategies of politeness: negative politeness "which involves avoiding or softening the formulation of an FTA [face threatening acts]," and positive politeness "which involves the production of an FFA [face-flattering acts]" by reinforcing "the other's face." Consequently, unlike Brown and Levinson (1987) who consider both negative and positive politeness as strategies preventing face threatening acts (FTA), for Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005), only negative politeness is a strategy that minimizes threatening acts.

In her study, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005) presents politeness in Modern French by examining an ordinary verbal exchange between a customer and a shopper in a Lyon bakery. Her data provide us with some polite structures and forms in Modern French. In the examples, the letter B stands for 'baker' and the letter C stands for 'customer'.

(87)
Example 1
B: ***madame bonjour?***
C: ***je voudrais*** *un pain aux céréales [****s'il vous plaît***
B : *[Oui*
C : et une baguette à l'ancienne
B : et une baguette (bruit de sac en papier) treize soixante-dix ***s'il vous plaît*** *(C pose un billet de 200F)* ***merci*** *(C farfouille dans son porte-monnaie) vous voulez me donner d'la monnaie ?*
C : ***heu*** *: vingt centimes* ***c'est tout c'que j'ai***
B ***: heu*** *non ça va pas m'arranger* ***merci (sourire)***
C ***: excusez-moi***
B ***: oh mais c'est rien j'vais me débrouiller*** *alors sur deux cents francs ça fait cent quatre-vingt-six trente (.) cent cinquante soixante soixante-dix hum quatre-vingt-cinq quatre-vingt-six (.) vingt et trente* ***voilà on y arrive***
C ***: je vous r'mercie***
B ***: c'est moi(.) mecri madame bon week-end au r'voir***
C ***: merci au r'voir***

*B**: good morning madam?***
*C**: I would like** a multigrain loaf **[please***
*B**:** [yes*
C: and a regular breadstick
*B: and a breadstick (sound of paper bag) thirteen seventy **please** (C puts down 200F) **thank you** (C searches in her purse) are you looking for small changes?*
*C: **er**:: twenty centimes is **all I've got***
*B**: er** no that won't quite do it **thanks** (smile)*
*C**: sorry about that***
*B**: oh never mind I'll manage** so with 200 francs that's one eighty six thirty (.) a hundred and fifty sixty seventy hum eighty five and six (.) twenty and thirty **see we made it***
*C**: thanks a lot***
*B**: No my pleasure (.) thank you madam have a good week-end good bye***
*C**: thank you good bye***

Example 2
***B:** madame?*
C**: une baguette **s'il vous plaît
B :** les baguettes elles sont au four y en a cinq **p'tites** minutes **y en a pas pour longtemps hein** il manque **un tout p'tit peu** d'cuisson **simplement

***B :** madam ?*
C** : a breadstick **please
B:** the sticks they're in the oven for another five **little** minutes **it won't be long eh just a tiny bit more** baking **that's all

(Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005:32-33)

The above data include polite and formal address terms (e.g. *madame, vous*), some ritual and conventional polite expressions that are used in most situations (e.g. *merci, s'il vous plaît, je voudrais, bon week-end*, etc.), as well as expressions that are considered polite in this particular context (e.g. *simplement, un tout p'tit peu* or *c'est tout c'que j'ai, oh mais c'est rien j' vais me débrouiller, etc.*). Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005) considers expressions like *simplement, un tout p'tit peu*, and *c'est tout c'que j'ai* polite in the framework of her face theory. If these expressions minimize the threat to addressees,

or if they enhance others' images, they can be interpreted as polite. Yet, in general, they may not be seen as polite expressions or they may not be used in other polite speeches.

We should, however, mention that the above data are not flawless because the author does not mark the sentence *vous voulez me donner d'la monnaie* as a polite utterance despite the use of the pronoun of respect (i.e. *vous*). Moreover, on the basis of her observation of daily transactions, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005) concludes that the majority of polite linguistic elements have ritual functions and that "the main strategies of politeness 'à la française', [...], reveal themselves to be the 'thank yous' associated with positive politeness; the use of the *conditional* (mainly attached to requests) associated with negative politeness and minimizers spread throughout all the recorded commercial exchanges gathered, going with all sorts of speech acts, and consisting principally of the adjective *petit* (lit. 'little')..." (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005:38).

It is therefore difficult to draw a firm conclusion from these contradictory studies that examine the theory of universal politeness. Similarities or differences in politeness strategies arise from comparisons of different languages. It seems that if we find similarities among languages, in terms of politeness strategies, we embrace the universality theory of politeness. On the other hand, if we find different politeness strategies among several languages, we then reject the universality theory. The review of recent studies of politeness indicates that it may not be reasonable to consider general and universal rules or strategies of politeness for all languages since the concept of politeness can vary from one language to another and from one society to another. In terms of linguistic features, there are, however, linguistic forms (e.g. conventional expressions,

polite address terms, etc.) that may be found in most languages although they are not similar. Each language should be individually studied even though similar strategies and tactics may be found in close languages (e.g. sister languages).

In addition, the revision of the studies opposed to the universality theory indicates that we should not expect to find exactly the same polite linguistic means between old and modern versions of the same language since we are, in fact, dealing with two different languages. Consequently, we hypothesize that Medieval French, which is the subject of this research, is somehow different from Modern French in terms of politeness strategies. Before moving to the study of politeness in Medieval French, in the next chapter, however, we will briefly point to the historical concept of politeness, which reveals the evolution of the notion of politeness in French language and a few other languages. A look at the transformation of the concept of politeness helps us to understand better the diachronic changes of French polite linguistic forms.

2.4. HISTORY OF POLITENESS

Without a doubt, in any given language, the concept of politeness would change over the centuries because of social changes. Considering the French language, we can surely state that a Latin speaker and a speaker of Middle French most probably could not have the same view of politeness even though French is derived from Latin. The term *poli* in French is a past-participle of the verb *polir,* which means 'to polish'. The verb *polir,* in turn, is originated from the Latin verb *polio* 'to polish, to make smooth'. Its use points to a polished and careful behavior of people at court, particularly in the sixteen and

seventeenth centuries (see Watts 2003:32-38, Ehlich 2005[1992]:71-72). In other words, *courtoisie* was equal to politeness in the sixteenth/ seventeenth century French (see Ehlich 2005: 72). People of higher power and status, seemingly, were distinguishing themselves from the rest of the society by their behavior and language.

> The ideology of politeness (of being polished) construed the courtier as hard, but polished and aesthetically pleasing in contradistinction to other classes of society, who by implication were rough and in need of polishing. Politeness was thus instrumental in creating and maintaining a strictly hierarchical and elitist social structure, and it was used as a means of enforcing social differences. In this sense, it did indeed become a highly efficient way of 'policing' society.
>
> (Watts 2003: 32-33)

France, however, was not the only country in which polite behavior was attributed to people of the court. Politeness was equally defined in several other countries of Western Europe like Britain: " During the sixteenth century terms that were used in preference to 'polite/politeness' were 'good manners', 'civil', 'courtesy', 'virtue', 'good nurture', 'good conduct', etc., and the sections of society to which the terms were referred were 'gentlemen', 'courtiers', 'nobility', etc." (Watts 2003:36). Sell (2005) similarly argues that politeness in the eighteenth century in English cultures could have a "lofty" meaning. In this sense, "it was associated with the metropolitan aristocracy and opposed to rural life and cultural provinciality. It meant a high degree of mental cultivation and elegant refinement, polished manners and neo-classical good taste" (Sell 2005:110). Likewise, in German, the term for politeness could either refer to the term *Hof* 'court' (i.e. *Höflichkeit*) or to the Latin term *urbanitas* 'urbanity', which refers to the city of Rome. In both cases, obviously, the term politeness in German points to the life of a distinguished group of people (Ehlich 2005: 71). Similar to French and English societies, in the Classical period

of Germany, politeness became a vehicle to recognize the bourgeoisie. Politeness was therefore associated with courtesy, the civilization of nobility, and powerful people of the court from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in Western Europe (Watts 2003, Ehlich 2005). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the increasing number of middle classes gradually gave rise to a shift in the notion of politeness toward its contemporary meaning (see Watts 2003). Although the studies of Watts (2003) and Ehlich (2005) show that polite language belonged to certain social groups in the Classical period of Europe, it is hard to believe that there was no sign of polite or deferential language among ordinary people. It is our belief that instead of limiting the notion of politeness to a distinguished language of certain social groups, we should focus on different kinds of polite language and behavior in those societies.

How politeness was conceptualized prior to the Classical period? What social factors would trigger polite behavior in ancient languages? Examining address terms in ancient Hebrew, Ehlich (2005), referring to Köhler (1922), shows that the term 'thou' was the only term to address a single addressee among people of that period who had a "nomadic" and "agrarian" life style:

> Generally address is completely formless, a simple "thou", at most accompanied by the addressee's name or an expression which refers to the addressee in accordance with his social or kinship status. […] It is most important to bear in mind that all the members and classes of a people refer to one another as "thou". This gave life an equitable, democratic, conciliatory nature ([Kohler] 1922: 37-38).
>
> (Ehlich 2005: 84)

A similar situation was also attested in Ancient Egypt or among the early Arabic people, where the only term of address to address a single person was 'thou' because of the lack

of social differences (Ehlich 2005:85, 89-90). By the rise of social differences in ancient near Eastern societies (i.e. master-slave relationship, the formation of kingdoms, etc.), however, new address terms were formed, which would indicate the difference in social status of speakers and addressees (Ehlich 2005: 86-93). We are thus witnessing the emergence of polite address terms: "This application of the terminology "slave" vs. "master" proves to be an important and highly productive point of departure for the development of "polite" forms of address […] The actual modification of this system and the consequent development of address terms that can more narrowly be called "polite" occur with the establishment of a kingdom in Ancient Israel" (Ehlich 2005: 86-87). A lack of polite address terms, on the other hand, could indicate the equality and freedom from slavery or power (Ehlich 2005: 85-90).

As a result of social differences, drastic changes in address terms are attested in ancient languages. For instance, Ehlich (2005:90-91), referring to Grapow (1960), shows that in Ancient Egyptian the pronoun 'thou' was further replaced by terms like 'his majesty', the impersonal pronoun 'one' or even the passive construction to address people of higher status. Yet, Ehlich (2005) argues that in Greek and Latin address terms that were used to promote politeness appeared relatively late, which could be the result of contact with outside languages. We should emphasize that no data has been offered by Ehlich (2005) to support this claim:

> Hence in the Latin and Greek situation for a long period of time there is little in the way of address terms that would justify making use of the category "politeness" at all. Within the culture of Ancient Greece it is difficult to make out any development towards politeness either in characteristic language usage or even in relation to a relevant social standard. […] It is only when a strong social internal differentiation develops beyond situations in which men of equal rank came together […] that we see address terms which give rise to the expression of politeness. This development owes more to intercultural contact with the East than to genuine linguistic developments in Latin and Greek. It is from here that the light of politeness for the Greco-Latin world is turned on, displaying the full extent of intercultural borrowing and investment.
>
> (Ehlich 2005: 93)

The review of the history, in general, reveals that a different language was needed either to address powerful people of higher status, or to distinguish powerful social groups from the rest of the society. In today's societies, certainly, politeness has not the same concept. Although power may still trigger politeness, politeness has become rather a language of respect toward addressees regardless of addressees' status or speakers' status. In this research, we are, however, interested in the historical development of linguistic politeness in French. For this reason, in the next chapter, we will study and analyze linguistic politeness in Medieval French, starting with its mother language, Latin.

Chapter3: Linguistic Politeness in the Absence of a Pronominal System

Politeness can be studied from different perspectives. We may discuss politeness strategies (e.g. 'positive' or 'negative' politeness), social variables (e.g. social class and distance, power, etc.) that determine polite strategies, the notion of politeness, or polite linguistic devices. Although a native speaker of any language should be aware of the speech situation, the status of the addressee and the characteristic of his relationship with the addressee in order to choose a polite strategy, he cannot express his politeness without appropriate linguistic means. Each language has, therefore, certain linguistic features and expressions of politeness, as shown in the previous chapter. In French, for instance, in a conversation between a Lyon baker and his customer (example 87), we attested fixed and usual French expressions (e.g. *merci, s'il vous plaît*, *madame*, *je vous remercie*, etc.) that are used in a polite speech as well as expressions that were considered polite in that particular situation (e.g. *un tout petit peu*, *simplement*, etc).

In this chapter, we study polite linguistic features in Medieval French. Yet, most French terms and expressions originated in Latin. As a result, we start our analysis from early Latin and continue to track linguistic features to Old and Middle French. The focus, however, will be on linguistic features other than the pronoun of respect *vous*. The emergence and evolution of *vous* need a detailed investigation and, therefore, we will dedicate separate chapters to this topic, although we may occasionally point to the use of the pronoun of respect to clarify our argument. The pronoun of respect *vous* was not frequently used until late Old French. Consequently, speakers of Latin and early Old

French used other means to express their deference towards addressees. Indeed, although speakers of later French consistently used the pronoun of respect in their polite conversations, they still needed to rely on other linguistic features to fulfill their deferential tasks. We therefore study lexical terms of address as well as polite expressions and linguistic structures (e.g. 'please', 'conditional mood', etc.) in this chapter.

3.1. POLITE LINGUISTIC DEVICES

The most known and discussed linguistic features in terms of politeness are, of course, terms of address, which are described as follows by Braun (1988):

> *Address* indeed is the basic concept of address theory. The term denotes a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s) […].
> *Forms of address* are words and phrases used for addressing. They refer to the collocutor and thus contain a strong element of deixis. (Braun 1988:7)

Braun (1988) considers three main categories of forms of address: pronouns of address, verb forms of address, and nouns of address. Greeting forms and forms like English *Hey!* or *excuse me*! that cannot be used as reference to addressees are, in fact, excluded from address forms (see Braun 1988:7, Dickey 2002:5). However, Brown and Ford (1961) show that, like terms of address (e.g. names, titles, etc.), 'greetings' may also vary depending on the relationship between speakers and addressees. The results of their study show that the greeting forms like *Hi* would be mostly used among "intimates" and "subordinates," whereas forms like *Good morning* would be most seen for "distant acquaintances and superiors" (Brown and Ford 1961:380).

Pronouns of address are pronouns that are used to address hearers. These pronouns, conventionally, are second person pronouns like *you* in English, *du* in German,

or *tu* and *vous* in French. Pronouns of address can equally be pronouns that originally and historically were not second person pronouns, but they have evolved as address pronouns for the sake of politeness, such as *Lei* in Italian and *Sie* in German, which are third person plural pronouns, or Spanish *usted* and Portuguese *você*, which, are derived from polite expressions (Braun 1988:7-8, Head 1978: 185). Most studies of address forms focus on pronominal systems because of the emergence of the pronoun of respect, which allows the pronominal system of many languages to have two pronouns addressing a single addressee. Linguists refer to this binary pronominal system as T/V pronominal system (see Brown and Gillman 1960). The T/V system or T/V pronouns, which would originally indicate the distinction between informal *tu* and formal *vous* in French, today**,** represent the distinction between informal /intimate and formal/polite pronouns in languages that have different pronouns to address a single addressee. The existence of a T/V system in most languages, especially languages in which the use of pronoun has become obligatory (e.g. French), helps speakers to express their respect by using the deferential pronoun, which can also replace other polite terms of address (e.g. titles). Pronouns of address will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

According to Braun (1988: 9-10), nouns of address are nouns or adjectives that are used to address hearers. They may include names, kinship terms, certain forms of address like *Ms/ Mrs* in English, titles, abstract names like (e.g. *(Your) Excellency, (Your) Grace, (Your) Honor*), occupational terms (e.g. *waiter* in English), terms that indicate the relationship between addressees and speakers in certain languages (e.g. Tu. *arkadaş* 'friend', Gm. *Kollege* 'colleague', Ar. *dʒa:ri* 'neighbor'), or terms of

endearment (i.e. "in addressing small children or persons to whom the speaker feels close..."). In some language, nouns of address are also formed on the basis of the relationship among relatives (e.g. Ar. *abu A:li* 'father of Ali') (Braun 1988: 9-10).

Verbs are equally used as a means of address (see Braun 1988: 8-9). Verb forms of address are common in languages that have an inflectional verbal system, where verb endings function similar to subject pronouns. For instance, in the following examples of Latin and Persian, the verb inflections show the person, number of the subject as well as the tense and the mood of verbs.

(88) *dic-o* (Latin)
say- 1 Sg.
'I say'

(89) *xoond-am* (Persian)
read-1Sg.Perf.
'I read'

According to Braun (1988:8), verbs can be used with or without pronouns. In other words, the address can only be expressed by verb in languages in which "the use of subject pronoun is not obligatory." For instance, in the Finnish sentence "*Mihin menet?* 'Where do you go?'", the suffix *–t* provides with the necessary information about the subject. Subsequently, the use of the subject pronoun will create redundancy (Braun 1988:8-9).

> In some languages with facultative subject pronouns the verb is made the bearer of address, especially in those cases where the explicit use of a pronoun is inhabited by uncertainty or politeness. In Portuguese, e.g., third person "verbal" address without pronoun or noun is frequently used as a neutral variant by means of which speakers escape the selection of variants. In other languages as well, the personal pronoun is not obligatory with any verb form; in German and French the pronoun can be dropped with imperatives- *komm*!' come!' (second person

> singular), *kommt* 'come!' (second person plural), but: *kommen Sie*! 'come!' (V [i.e. polite, distant] form); *viens* ! 'come!' (second person singular), *venez*! 'come!' (second person plural and V form).
>
> (Braun 1988:8-9)

Even though, Braun (1988) believes that verb endings help speakers to avoid pointing to the hearer by using a specific pronoun of address, his examples of German and French indicate that verb endings could very well function as a T or a V pronoun, distinguishing between an informal/intimate address and a formal/polite address. Therefore, the speaker may not be neutral in address by using verb endings.

Braun, therefore, divides terms of address into three groups of pronouns, nouns and verbs. The following examples of English and German from Dickey (2002) recapitulate this division:

(90)	*Could you close the window?*	(pronoun of address)
(91)	*Mary, how are you?*	(noun of address)
(92)	*Would Your Majesty care to read this letter?*	(noun of address)
(93)	*Gib **es** mir!*	(verb of address)

(Dickey 2002: 5)

While 'you' in example (90) is an example of pronoun of address, 'Mary' and 'Your Majesty' in example (91) and (92) are examples of nouns of address. In example (93), on the other hand, the verb, by itself, refers to the second person singular without using the German pronoun *du* (see Dickey 2002:5). However, a tendency towards the categorization of forms of address based on their syntactical position in the sentence has been seen among other linguists:

> An obvious classification is one by parts of speech, into nouns, pronouns, and verbs, but this division is usually rejected by linguists on the grounds that it obscures the most fundamental distinctions among addresses ; instead, addresses are classified into syntactically 'bound' and 'free' forms. Bound forms are those integrated into the syntax of a sentence, and free forms are those not so integrated. Thus in the request 'Mary, could you please open the window?' 'Mary' is a free form and 'you' a bound form. (Dickey 2002:5-6)

Yet, this classification may encounter exceptions. While, in English and most European languages, pronouns are considered "bound forms" and nouns are considered "free forms," in the following English examples, the pronoun is a "free form" (example 94) and the noun is a "bound form" (example 95) (Dickey 2002:6).

(94) *You! Open the window!*
(95) *Would Your Highness care to open the window?* (Dickey 2002:6)

In fact, Braun (1988) points to this problem, which explains why he chooses the classification in terms of nouns, pronouns and verbs. Similarly, he offers German examples in which "bound" and "free" forms do not represent the forms that are syntactically integrated or not integrated into a sentence.

(96) *Du, kann ich mal dein Fahrrad liehen?*
'You, may I have your bicycle?' (Braun 1988:11)

(97) *Hat die Dame noch einen Wunsch?* (*waiter to customer*)
'*Does the lady have another order?'* (Braun 1988:11)

Despite the fact that in German like many other languages (e.g. English) the pronoun is normally a bound form and a noun is a free form, in examples (96) and (97), we see the opposite. Additionally, according to Braun (1988:11), the change from bound to free morpheme or vice versa may result in an "unfavorable connotations." For instance, the

use of the pronoun *Sie* in German, which is the pronoun of respect, as a free form may express rudeness towards the addressee (Braun 1988:11).

(98) *Sie ! Können Sie nicht aufpassen?*
You! Can't you pay attention? (Braun 1988:11)

In our study, we will therefore use Braun's classification and study the address systems in terms of pronouns and nouns of address in order to avoid syntactical problems. It may, however, be helpful to note that the distinction between 'bound' and 'free' forms, according to Dickey (2002:6), is in fact the distinction between 'vocative' and 'non-vocative' in Latin. 'Vocatives' in Latin represent a linguistic category that includes direct terms of address. In contrast to English or many contemporary languages, in a declarative sentence, the use of a Latin verb was enough to address a person. The use of pronoun or noun was not required unless for emphasizing or getting the attention of addressees, and they could be syntactically unbounded to the sentence (i.e. vocatives). Yet, Latin verbs could not show the distinction between register variations (e.g. polite vs. impolite, etc). Latin had only a single pronoun of address and subsequently a single verbal inflection for the second person singular. Therefore, Latin direct terms of address (i.e. vocatives), which were not integrated into sentences, could play a crucial role in conveying politeness.

Ervin-Tripp (1972) and Braun (1988) also insist on the variation that may exist within a given address system or the variation that may be found between address systems of different languages. Consequently, depending on the degree of social diversity, address behavior differs from a community to another: "The greater the social

diversity in a given community, the more pronounced can be the variation in address behavior. This is evident as one turns away from European or Western societies. One will find variation according to factors like regional dialect, urban vs. rural background, class, education, age, sex, ideology, religion, etc" (Braun 1988:23).

Additionally, Braun (1988: 24) argues that a more varied address system includes certain forms that provide us with more information about the speaker rather "than about the addressee or the relationship between the two." Various examples presented by Braun (1988:24-29) illustrate how the use of a specific address form may help us to better identify speakers (see Braun 1988). In Polish, for instance, the noun "*pan/pani* 'Mr/Mrs', 'sir/madam'" in combination with the third person verb is used to address a single addressee in formal or respectful situations. If, on the other hand, a speaker uses "*pan/pani*" with the second person verb (i.e. noun + second person), which is seen in non-standard varieties, it actually reveals the social background of the speaker and his relationship with the addressee (Braun 1988:26)**.** Moreover, Braun (1988:27) correctly reports that, in Persian, the pronoun of address for a single addressee is *to*. Persian is a language with a T/V system, and *to* is a familiar pronoun (i.e. T pronoun) that is not used in formal situations or for deferential address**.** As Braun claims, the "frequent or almost exclusive" use of *to* is, in fact, the characteristic of certain social groups or certain regions that may not be seen as a general pattern of the use of the pronoun *to*. Another example is found in German, which has also a T/V pronominal system. In German, *du*, which is a pronoun to address a single person and which is a familiar pronoun (i.e. T pronoun), can give information about political or ideological belief of speakers. For

instance, young people, who believe in equality, address everybody with *du*. Similarly, *du* is a pronoun of address among the Social Democrat Party to indicate "group membership" regardless of the relationship between speakers and addressees (Braun 1988: 27-28). Braun (1988) emphasizes that address forms used in a course of conversation inform us about speakers' characteristics (i.e. ideology, age, regional dialect, social position or status, education, sex, etc.) rather than the relationship between speakers and addressees (Braun 1988:28-29).

Therefore, terms of address, indexing the communicative situation, speakers' background, the relation between speakers and addressees *and* polite behavior of speakers, are salient linguistic features in terms of politeness. We believe that while the T/V system has become the main feature of politeness in many languages, the importance of other address forms has been underestimated. T/V pronouns may be frequent address forms to indicate politeness, but nouns of address are the main forms used in languages without a T/V pronominal system. For instance, English has only the pronoun *you* to address a second person. An English speaker needs to use other available address forms (e.g. titles) to express his deference: "The principle option of address in American English is the choice between use of the first name [...] and use of a title with the last name […]. These linguistic forms follow a rule that is truly relational" (Brown and Ford 1961:375). If an English speaker, because of the pronoun *you,* cannot address his friend and his professor differently, he can do so by employing nouns of address. The first name is frequently used in English to address a friend while the title 'professor+ name' is used

to address a professor (see Brown and Ford 1961). The study of Brown and Ford (1961) highlights the role of lexical address forms in the absence of a T/V system:

> The most common address forms are the first name […] and the title plus last name […] These function in three sorts of dyadic pattern: the Mutual T[itle]L[ast]N[ame], the Mutual F[irst]N[ame], and the nonreciprocal use of T[itle]L [ast]N[ame] and F[irst]N[ame]. The semantic distinction between the two mutual patterns is on the intimacy dimension with Mutual F[irst]N[ame] being the more intimate of the two patterns. In the nonreciprocal pattern a distinction is made in terms of status with the higher saying F[irst]N[ame] and the lower T[itle]L [ast]N[ame].
>
> (Brown and Ford 1961: 384)

Likewise, we expect to find nominal address forms as crucial elements of politeness in Latin and Early Old French, where the pronoun of respect *vos* or *vous* was either absent or not frequent.

Besides terms of address, referential terms (i.e. terms used to refer to people other than addressee) can represent deference in a given language. Examination of referential terms may show the importance of presence or absence of the third party in the conversation. Moreover, a term can have different meaning in address usage and in referential usage: "One of the most important discoveries that linguists have made about address usage is that the meaning of a word when used as an address usage may differ considerably from its 'lexical' or 'referential' usage" (Dickey 2002:10). Terms like 'lady' or 'madam' in English are instances where there is a difference in the address and referential meaning. According to Dickey (2002: 10-11), while the term 'lady' has a negative connotation that "implies scorn or ill-will on the part of the speaker" as an address term, it has no such connotation in referential address. On the contrary, 'madam', which is a deferential term of address for "superiors or strangers," has a negative

connotation in referential meaning, where it refers to "brothel-keepers" (2002:10-11). Yet, a term can lose its original meaning in both address and referential meaning over time: "It is, however, important to realize that the examples commonly cited to illustrate a difference between lexical and address meaning, words like French *Monsieur* and German *Herr* which originally meant 'my lord' but no longer have that force when used in address, really reflect diachronic rather than synchronic variation, for they no longer mean 'my lord' in referential usage either" (Dickey 2002:11).

Although in many contexts, we rely on lexical terms to convey our polite intention, as we mentioned in the previous chapter, other polite linguistic forms (e.g. terms like *please*, interrogatives for indirect requests, if clauses, etc.) are also inevitable components of polite contexts. In our study, we will, therefore, examine these devices as well.

3.2. LATIN LEXICAL ADDRESS FORMS

Dickey (2002) starts her book with the following statement: "Whenever two Romans met, they had to choose between different available address forms to use in greeting, and if they made the wrong choice, the consequences could be unpleasant, as the poet Martial tells us in this epigram […] The poet says that he was punished for using the wrong address form, but the punishment was apparently a minor one" (Dickey 2002:1). Latin lexical terms of address were highly functional in terms of politeness. Because of the lack of the pronoun of respect and the lack of a distinguished verbal form to convey politeness, lexical terms of address could be, in many instances, the only

element to mark the polite intention of the speaker. For instance, example (99) can be used to address a friend or an emperor. Example (99), in fact, shows that a Latin speaker has only one form to address a single addressee regardless of his relationship with addressee, whereas the parallel example (100a/100b) from Modern French shows that a French speaker is able to differentiate between formal and informal address using the T/V pronominal system (i.e. bound forms). In French the pronoun for the second person plural (i.e. *vous*) is equally used to address a single addressee as a sign of politeness.

(99) *mones* (Wheelock 2000:4)
advise- 2Sg.

'You advise'

(100) a. *Tu* *conseilles* (familiar address)
you-2Sg. advise- 2Sg.

b. *Vous* *conseillez* (formal address)
you-2Pl. advise-2Pl.

'You advise'

A Latin speaker would therefore need to use lexical terms or noun of address (e.g. titles, first names, kinship terms, etc.) to express deference to the addressee. It is fair to say that Latin is comparable to English. In English, the characteristic of the relation between speakers and addressees cannot be differentiated by using the one and only pronoun of address *you*. As mentioned previously, an English speaker is forced to use lexical terms (e.g. first name or title) to indicate his intimacy or distant towards the addressee. It should, however, be mentioned that even though verb endings and pronouns in Latin could not express deference, the meaning of verbs or the use of other polite linguistic devices, which will be discussed later in this chapter, could make a difference in terms of

politeness. In the following section, we present our analysis of Latin lexical address forms in various Latin texts.

3.2.1 Plautus, Petronius, Cicero, and Pliny

In this section, we examine texts written by four well-known Latin writers. The plays of Plautus are among the earliest texts. Plautus was a playwright of the third century B.C. whose texts may illustrate the early address and referential Latin system. In the examination of the entire plays of *Mostellaria* 'The Hunted House' and *Mercator* 'The Merchant' written by Plautus, we find a variety of lexical terms used among different characters. *Mostellaria* and *Mercator* are both about a series of events that happen between old business men and their sons. While fathers are unaware of the undesirable sons' actions, the faithful slaves try to mediate and hide the truth in order to avoid any conflict between sons and fathers. We also briefly examined *Rudens* 'The Rope', another play of Plautus, which is the story of a young female slave who, stolen from her father as a child, is later found and protected by the parent.

In later Latin, we observe a significant difference in the use of polite address terms. Roman society became more hierarchical requiring the use of new terms pointing to social differences and status. This linguistic change is attested in the novel *Satyricon* by Petronius, a writer from the first century AD. In the *Satyricon*, we read about adventures of a group of friends who once were invited to a dinner party prepared by a rich man named Trimalchio, where the young men met various individuals. Our data

include conversations from the passages on the dinner party of the book *Satyricon.* Most examples represent the exchange talks between guests and their host.

Epistolary texts, on the other hand, are the most valuable texts remaining from ancient languages. While all kinds of texts may represent the language of early times, epistolary texts reflect real conversational language because they were not written to please or entertain a large audience like plays or novels and, therefore, the language of these texts was not manipulated by the authors. A large number of Latin letters actually survived, which can give us relevant information about the use of lexical address terms in the past. We have chosen several letters of Cicero, a Roman writer, orator and politician from the first century BC, and Pliny the Younger, a Latin writer of the first century AD (1st-2nd AD).

We observe a very polite and careful language in Cicero's letters, which associates him with a certain level of society. Williams (1952), translating Cicero's letters to his friends, notices the unique language of the letters: "The Letters vary greatly in interest and style; while many of them contain matter of the highest literary or historical value…" (Williams1952, x). Hall (2009: 3), similarly, argues that the letters of Cicero "provide a fascinating map of Roman aristocratic manners." Pliny the Younger, an author of the first century AD, also left us plenty of letters addressing numerous correspondents (e.g. friends, family, etc.), including the emperor Trajan. Although letters of Pliny, which also represent a deferential language, in comparison to Cicero's letters, may show less formality, the elevated language used by both Cicero and Pliny reflects their social class:

"In many aristocratic exchanges in ancient Rome, we can discern a high degree of restraint and regulation, expressed to a large extent through linguistic formality" (Hall 2009:10).

3.2.1.1. Lexical Terms for Masters

The slave-master relation may represent the ultimate social gap between the interlocutors since masters had the arbitrary power and control over slaves. In the examination of the language of slaves in *Mostellaria,* the use of the two terms *senex* 'old man' and *erus* 'master' to refer to the masters is attested. Yet, *senex* was just a term for old men and could not carry a deferential connotation. The following examples are instances of the use of the term *senex* in various situations. Example (101) is a conversation between two slaves about their elderly master in his absence. Example (102), on the other hand, is a conversation between a slave and an old gentleman about the slave's master. Example (103) is a conversation between a slave and his master referring to a friend of the master.

(101) [slave to slave (Grumio to Tranio)]

Patiar.	*sine*	*modo*	*adveniat*
allow- 1Sg. Fut.	without	only	come-3Sg.Subju.

senex. (Plaut. *Most.*12)
old man-Nom.

'Just let the old man comes'

(102) [slave (Tranio) to an old gentleman (Simo)]

Nunc *hoc* *quod* *ad* *te* *noster* *me* *misit*
Now this what to you-Acc. our me-Acc. send-3Sg.Perf.

senex. (Plaut. *Most.*748)
old man.Nom.

'Now, this is why our master (old man) sent me to you'

(103) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides), introducing an old gentleman (Simo)]

Senex *illic* *est.* (Plaut. *Most.* 801)
Old man-Nom. here be-3Sg.

'The old man is here'

Instances of *senex* were also attested when the slave, talking to himself, addresses his master or an old gentleman, a friend of the master.

(104) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides)]

Et *ego—tibi* *hodie* *ut* *det,* *senex ,*
and I you.Dat. today so that do- 3Sg.Subju. old man-Voc.

magnum *malum.* (Plaut. *Most.*530)
great evil

'And me too; that he [Hercules] brings misfortune to you today, old man'

(105) [slave (Tranio) to old gentleman (Simo)]

Abitus *tuos* *tibi,* *senex,* *fecerit* *male...*
departure your.2Pl. you.Dat. old man-Voc. make-3Sg. Subju. Perf. bad

(Plaut. *Most.* 711)

'It was your departure that made things worse for you, old man'

Similarly, the term *senex* could also be used by a slave addressing an unknown old gentleman, who could be the master of other slaves.

(106) [slave (Phaniscus) to old gentleman (Theopropides)]

Heus	*senex,*	*quid*	*tu*	*percontare*	*ad*	*te*
Hallo	old man-Voc.	what	you-2Sg.Nom.	inquire- Inf.	to	you-Acc.

quod	*nihil*	*attinet?*	(Plaut. *Most.*939)
what	nothing	concern-3Sg.	

'Hello old man, why do you ask about something that does not concern you?'

The data from Plautus's plays, therefore, show that *senex* was frequently used by slaves to address their aged masters in their absence, or to address aged people of higher status. The term was mostly used when there was no need to express politeness or there was no need to clarify the owners of slaves. Although, as we attested in the above examples, *senex* could, depending on the context, have a positive connotation, it was not exclusively used as a polite term. Rather, it would point to the age of the addressee or the referent. The use of age and gender of the interlocutor was, in fact, common in neutral situations.

> […] when the address is used because of the sociolinguistic need for an address rather than in order to make the situation clear to an audience, most Roman authors seem to follow a rough hierarchy of features usable for descriptive addresses. At the top of this hierarchy are age and gender. Unknown boys are normally addressed as *puer*, young men as *adulescens* 'young person' or (less often) *iuvenis* 'young man', and old men as *senex* 'old man'.
>
> (Dickey 2002:254)

While Dickey (2002) agrees that *senex* was a term referring to 'old men', she mentions that the term was used to address unrelated or unknown addressees and it could be modified or left as a neutral address depending on the situation (Dickey 2002: 358).

The term *erus*, in contrast, was a title that could have a deferential connotation. *Erus* was used in the presence of the master either to address him directly (example 107), or to introduce him in the presence of a third party (example 108). In a few instances (examples 109 and 110), however, we find the use of this title as a referential term for 'master'.

(107) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides)]

O	*Theopropides,*	*ere,*	*salve,*	*salvom*
Interj.	Theopropides	master-Voc.	be in good health-2Sg.Imp.	safe-Acc.

te	*advenisse*	*gaudeo.*	(Plaut.*Most*.446)
you-Acc.	come- Perf.Inf.	be glade- 1Sg.	

'Oh, Theopropides, master, be in good health! I'm glad that you are safe'

(108) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides) in the presence of an old gentleman (Simo)]

Erus	*meus*	*hic*	*quidem*	*est.*	(Plaut. *Most.*1063)
master-Nom.	my	this	indeed	be-3Sg.	

'This is, indeed, my master'

(109) [conversation among two slaves (Phaniscus and Pinacium), talking about their master]

Ferocem	*facis,*	*quia*	*te*	*erus*	*amat.*
fierce-Acc.	make- 2Sg.	because	you-Acc.	master.Nom.	love- 3Sg.

(Plaut. *Most.*889)

'You are fierce because the master loves you'

(110) [slave (Phaniscus) to an old gentleman (Theopropides)]

…erus	*hic*	*noster*	*potat.*	(Plaut. *Most.* 943)
…master-Nom.	here	our	drink- 3Sg.	

'Our master is drinking here'

The term *erus* defined the submission of the slave and the superiority of the master, which explains why it was mostly used in the presence of masters. Etymologically, *erus* was a polite term of address. According to Ernout and Meillet (1967, s.v. *erus*), *erus* is derived from a word that originally was a religious term meaning 'master' or 'moral and wise people', belonging to Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic[7] languages. Yet, it became a secular term in Latin[8]. Although, we believe that the title *erus* could be a respectful title, its usage as a polite term can be disputed. It is our belief that it was mostly employed to indicate the status of slaves as being owned. To support our statement, we can point to instances where the term *senex* was used by slaves addressing masters of other slaves or persons of higher status. In other words, if *erus* was a term expressing politeness in the first place, we would expect to see the use of *erus* as an address term for all people of higher status and not only as an address term for masters. Yet, we have not found *erus* as a general term of politeness for all superiors.

Dickey (2002), on the other hand, in her extensive study of address forms in Latin, states that the two titles *dominus* or *erus* would indicate respect. Yet, she adds that slaves preferred to use the word *erus* because "there is an important distinction between these words [i.e. *erus/era*] and *dominus/a* ['master'] in referential usage. When the latter term is applied to a master of slaves in early Latin, it is used primarily by free men and

[7] "Celtic shares several features with Italic, leading some scholars to claim that the two branches formed and "Italo-Celtic" subgroup of Indo-European. But the validity of this claim is in doubt, even after decades of controversy" (Fortson 2010:682).

[8] " On a vu dans *erus* un ancient mot, employé notamment avec valeur religieuse, qui se retrouve soit dans hitt. *ešha-* " maître ", [...], dans le thème iranien *ahū-* " maître, génie présidant à quelque chose ", et dans le nom religieux skr. *ásurah*= av. *ahura-* désignant un type de divinités de caractère moral. On aurait donc ici un terme de l'ancien vocabulaire religieux conservé en indo-iranien et en italo-celtique, mais devenu profane en latin. Mais le rapprochement de skr. *ahū-* est contestable, et, sauf *densus*, et *domus*, il n'y a guère d'exemple d'un thème en *–o/e-* latin correspondant à un thème en *–u-* indo-iranien " (Ernaout & Meillet 1967:202).

women, while slaves themselves normally (though not always) refer to their owners as *erus/a* " (Dickey 2002:79). Subsequently, she argues that the use of the address term *ere* 'master' was optional, as slaves would use names or other terms to address their masters. No significant difference in tone or in frequency was attested by her between names and *ere* (Dickey 2002: 235).

For several reasons, the term *erus* could be used frequently among slaves. Latin *dominus* could have various meanings : *maître de maison* 'host', *maître des jeux* 'game master', *maître du peuple, tyran* 'tyrant' (Ernout and Meillet 1967: s.v. *domus*).Yet, according to Dickey (2002:78-79), the meaning of *dominus* was 'owner', which could apply not only to house or land, but also to animals and slaves. *Dominus*, indeed, is an abstract term derived from *domus* 'house' (see Ernout and Meillet 1967, s.v. *domus*), referring to the owner of the household. Therefore, slaves would prefer to replace *dominus* by other words like *erus*, which would mean 'master' and not 'owner'(see Dickey 2002:79). However, a careful look at Dickey's statement reveals the change in the semantic meaning of *erus* as well. Dickey (2002) acknowledges that, in referential usage, *dominus* was mostly used by freed slaves, whereas *erus* was used by owned slaves. Consequently, the meaning of 'ownership' was hidden in *erus* rather than in *dominus.* From this perspective, if *erus* had any deferential connotation, its usage would indicate the implementation of negative politeness strategy.

Although *senex, erus,* and first names were common terms used towards masters or other superiors, they could hardly convey actual respect or affection. Among terms that could show the real deferential attitude or the real emotion of the speaker, we find

Patrone ‘patron’. *Patrone* (Plaut. *Most*. 746) was certainly a respectful title that, in one instance, is attested in a communication between a slave (Tranio) and a friend of his master (Simo). The slave considers the old man as his protector and helper, and by using the term *patrone,* he expresses his respect towards the old man (see also Dickey 2002: 105). Yet, in another play of Plautus, *Rudens,* we observe the use of *patrone* as an address term for a slave. Dickey (2002: 348) claims that, in comedy, *patrone* was “a term of extreme flattery for slaves,” if used by masters (see also Dickey 2002:105).

111) [master (Plesidippus) to his slave (Trachalio)]

Iterum	*mihi*	*istaec*	*omnia*	*itera,*		*mi*	*anime,*	*mi*
again	me-Dat.	by that way	all	repeat- Imp.2Sg.		my	soul	my
Trachalio,	*mi*	*liberte,*	*mi*	*patrone*	*potius,*	*immo*		*mi*
Trachalio	my	freedman	my	patron	rather	no indeed		my
pater.								(Plaut. *Rud*. 1263)
father								

‘My soul, my Trachalio, my freedman, rather my patron, no indeed my father, repeat that to me again’

In example (111), the buildup of respectful phrases (e.g. ‘my soul’, ‘my patron’, etc.) on the part of the speaker in order to be highly flattering or respectful should also be noted. There is no doubt that the slave was seen as a confidant or a friend in that situation.

It is interesting to compare address and referential terms used for slaves and masters in Plautus’s plays and in Petronius’s novel. As mentioned before, masters were addressed by *ere* or they would be referred to as *erus* in Plautus’s play. Example (112) indicates that the nominative *dominus* was a title for master although its usage is not attested in direct address by slaves, in the data, who hardly communicate in the novel. In

contrast to the plays of Plautus, we have not found any instances of *erus* 'master' or *senex* 'old man' in Petronius's novel. As mentioned previously, the title *dominus* 'master' would, however, express a high degree of deference and respect (Dickey 2007: 77-80).

(112) *Quisquis* *servus* *sine* *dominico*
Each slave-Nom. without lordly [from master]- Abl.

iussu *foras* *exierit,* *accipiet*
at the command of out of doors exit-3Sg.Fut.Perf. receive-3Sg.Fut.

plagas *centum.* (Petr. *Sat*.28)
strokes hundred

'Each slave will receive one hundred strokes if he goes out of doors without his master's permission'

3.2.1.2 Lexical Terms for Slaves

As for terms for slaves, we have not found a variety of terms of address. *Puer* 'boy', which, from early times on, was an address term for young slaves (Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v. *puer*), or unknown and unnamed slaves (Dickey 2007:353), is attested in just a few instances (Plaut. *Most*. 306, 967,991; *Merc*.930).

(113) [old gentleman (Theorpropides) to slave (Pinacium)]

Puere, *iamne* *abis?* (Plaut. *Most*.991)
boy-Voc. already go away-2Sg.

'Boy, are you already going?'

On the other hand, we found the direct address *vetus puer* 'old boy' with a negative connotation used when addressing a friend's father (Plaut. *Merc*. 976).

Two terms are also attested for male slaves in the *Satyricon* of Petronius: *puer* 'a boy' and *servus* 'slave'. The terms had probably different connotations. According to Dickey (2002:358), *servus*, if used in singular form and unmodified, would be an "insulting address" for a slave.

(114) [narrator]

[...], *puer* *vetulus,* *lippus,* *domino* *Trimalchione*
boy-Nom. old- Nom. blear-eyed. Nom. master-Abl. Trimalchio

deformior. (Petr. *Sat*. 28)
ugly-Comp.

'[...] the old blear-eyed boy uglier than his master, Trimalchio.'

(112)/(115) *Quisquis* *servus* *sine* *dominico*
each slave-Nom. without lordly [from master]- Abl.

iussu *foras* *exierit,*
at the command of out of doors exit-3Sg.Fut.Perf.

accipiet *plagas* *centum.* (Petr. *Sat*.28)
receive- 3Sg.Fut. strokes hundred

'Each slave will receive one hundred strokes if he goes out of doors without his master's permission'

The term *servus* 'slave' can be found in Pliny's letters to refer to slaves. In referential address, however, the term *servus* may be a neutral term.

Among terms for female addressees, *mulier* 'woman' should be mentioned. This term was used to refer to a freed female slave or a courtesan in several instances: "When *mulier* is addressed to women not very close to the speaker, the term has no particular emotive force; it is used when the speaker is being polite, kind, or affectionate as well as

in rude contexts. The positive uses, however, are not really respectful, tending rather to express a rough sort of friendliness or pity, and the term does not belong to a high register…" (Dickey 2002:199). Although we agree with Dickey (2002), we should add that the word *mulier* by itself cannot bear any kind of polite connotation unless modified by adjectives. For instance, in the following example, the word *mulier* is modified by positive adjectives like *lepidam* 'pleasant', 'elegant'. In contrast to Dickey (2002), who does not see 'expressing affection or friendship' as signs of real politeness, we believe that in many instances, politeness is triggered by affection, pity or friendship (e.g. positive politeness [see chapter 2]).

(116) [gentleman (Philolaches) referring to courtesan (Philematium)]

Pro	*di*	*immortales,*	*mulierem*	*lepidam*	*et*
Interj.	gods-Voc.	immortal-Voc. Pl.	woman.Acc.	elegant.Acc.	and

pudico	*ingenio.*	(Plaut. *Most*. 203)
modest.Abl.	nature.Abl.	

'Oh immortal gods, an elegant woman of modest nature…'

The term *mulier* was only used as a referential term in *Mostellaria*. Yet, in *Rudens*, we find the term *mulier* as a term of address for a young girl.

Apart from the term *mulier*, diminutives were used as terms for female slaves. *Puella* 'little girl' is a diminutive found in *Rudens*. Although the girl is pictured as a slave, those terms were not used by her master. According to Dickey (2002:201), *puella* was a polite and complimentary term of address. Both Dickey (2002:201) and Ernout and Meillet (1967, s.v. *puer*) claim that *puella* was a Latin diminutive that would primarily be used in intimate relationships. The term *puella* in our data, however, is probably used

because of the young age of the addressee. Yet, it could also convey a degree of compassion or sympathy towards the addressee. For instance, we find *puellae* 'young/little girls' used to address two young female slaves by the priestess of Venus (Plaut. *Rud*. 263). In addition, we found the use of both *mulier* and *puella* in a single context to address a young girl by her father who does not recognize his daughter.

(117) *tu, puella, istinc procul dicito quid*
you-2Sg. little girl from over there far say-2Sg.Fut.Imp. what

insit et qua facie, memorato omnia.
inside and what form mention-2Sg.Fut.Imp. all

(Plaut. *Rud*. 1147)

'You, little girl, from there, say what is inside and what it the form. You will mention all'

The diminutive *adulescentula* 'little lady' is another diminutive expressing sympathy and affection in *Rudens*.

(118) [female slave (Ampelisca) to male slave (Sceparnio)]

Amp. *Salve, adulescens.*
greeting young man-Voc.

'Good morning, young man'

Scep. *Et tu multum salveto, adulescentula.*
and you much be well.2Sg.Fut.Imp. young lady-Voc.

(Plaut. *Rud*. 415-416)

'And you, be well, young lady'

It should be recalled that Brown and Levinson (1987) find 'diminutives' as linguistic features expressing endearment in some languages (e.g. particle *ala* 'a little' in Tzeltal

[Brown and Levinson 1987:109]). They therefore consider diminutives as a linguistic device belonging to positive politeness strategy.

The diminutive *ancilla* (Pliny, *Ep*. 10.96.8) 'maidservant', which was previously used by Plautus and was attested from early Latin, is another diminutive found in referential address for female servants. *Ancilla* is listed as a diminutive expressing affection by Ernout &Meillet (1967, s.v. *anculus*). Even though the diminutive may convey affection or sympathy towards the addressee, we do not believe that diminutives, categorically, were used for female slaves as a sign of affection. In fact, the diminutive, with the original sense of 'child' or 'small', metaphorically gain various meanings and could be used to mark "female gender", "small size", "approximation", "intensity" or "exactness", etc (Jurafsky 1996). When diminutives are used to mark female gender, they can have a degrading connotation as women could be compared to children or small things: "In the relation between female gender and diminutives, however, the relevant distinction is the opposition female/male. Women are physically smaller and less powerful than men..." (Jurafsky 1996:546). Although we cannot claim that diminutives were used either to show affection or to degrade slaves, its usage was certainly triggered by the (feminine) gender of the slaves.

In addition, a few abstract terms like *voluptas mea* 'my pleasure' (Plaut. *Most.* 247), or *O Venus venusta* 'oh! charming goddess of love' (Plaut. *Most*.161) were used as affectionate terms addressing a courtesan. Subsequently, the collective term *familia* (Petr. *Sat*. 54), which was a term referring to the slaves of a household (see Ernout & Meillet

1967, s.v. *famulus*) and *ministri* (Petr. *Sat*.40), which would signify ‘servants’ (see Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v. *minister*), were used by the narrator in the *Satyricon* of Petronius.

3.2.1.3. Deferential Terms

In contrast to the deferential term *dominus*, which was specifically employed to highlight the inequality of power between the speaker and the addressee, in the *Satyricon* of Petronius, a few respectful terms can be found illustrating the friendship between the speaker and the addressee. For instance, the vocative *amici* ‘friends’, which is used by the host to address the guests in many instances (example 119), and the term *magister* ‘master, chef, teacher’ (see Ernout and Meillet 1967, s.v. *magis*), which points to the wisdom and knowledge of the addressee while addressing teachers and educated people (example 120), are among examples of politeness based on factors other than power.

(119) [host to guests]

“Amici”		*inquit*	*“nondum*	*mihi*	*suave*	*erat*
friends- Vov.Masc.		say-3Sg.	not yet	me-Dat.	sweet	be.3Sg.Imperf.

in	*triclinium*	*venire,*	*sed ..."*	(Petr. *Sat*.33)
in	dining room.Acc.	come.Inf.	but	

‘He said: “Friends, it was not convenient for me to come to the dinner, but…” ’

(120) [host to a poet]

“magister,	*quid*	*putas*	*inter*	*Ciceronem*	*et*	*Pubilium*
teacher.Voc.	what	think-2Sg.	between	Cicero-Acc.	and	Publiius-Acc.

interesse ?	(Petr. *Sat*.55)
differ-Inf.	

‘Teacher, what do you think was the difference between Cicero and Publiius?”

Our observation is supported by Dickey's study: "[...] it seems likely that during the first century AD names ceased to be the primary form of address between unrelated adults. Their place was apparently taken by polite terms such as *domine* 'master', *frater* 'brother', *caissime* 'dearest', and *magister* 'teacher'" (2002: 45). Dickey (2002:204) subsequently adds that "learned men of the imperial period" were frequently addressed by the term *magister* 'teacher', which would convey respect. While *magister* is used as a term of address, other occupational terms used either by the narrator or by the characters in referential address (e.g. *medicus* 'doctor', *cocus* 'cook', *histrio* 'actor') do not necessarily indicate respect in referential address.

Dickey (2002) argues that occupational terms could be addressed to hearers whose names are not known to speakers. In this respect, they are neutral and general terms: "Less often [...] generic terms are addressed to individuals who are nameless for some other reason. *Medice* 'doctor' can be used to address a nameless doctor […] In general, such addresses seem to be used either as weak insults or as expressions of mild respect, depending on the term and on the context; it appears that generic terms are neutral when used to identify a nameless addressee, but marked when used to someone who could have been addressed by name" (Dickey 2002: 204). The polite connotation of occupational terms, on the other hand, can be related to their being used in direct or referential address. For instance, *medicus*, similar to *magister*, could be deferential term in direct address (i.e. vocative), and *magister*, vice versa, could be a neutral term in referential address. In addition, the relative power of the speaker over the addressee could

attribute a polite connotation to the occupational term. For instance, the referential address *patronus* ‘patron’ (Petr. *Sat*. 39), which expresses some kind of power of the speaker over the addressee was a deferential and respectful term. As discussed earlier, *patrone* as a polite address is also attested in plays of Plautus (see section 3.2.1.1.). The emergence of occupational terms at that period indicates the inclination towards more formality, which in turn, indicates a tendency towards a negative politeness strategy.

Titles and occupational terms, however, are commonly seen in Cicero’s letters. Cicero introduces individuals by using titles to highlight their powerful political status (e.g. *senatoris* ‘senator’[Cic. *Fam*.13.8.1], *legati* ‘ambassadors' [Cic. *Fam.* 15.3.2]). One of the titles frequently found in his letters addressing the council and senators is *rex* ‘king’, referring to kings of other lands.

(121) *Regis* *Deiotari* *et* *voluntatem* *et* *copias,*
king-Gen. Deiotarus-Gen. and will-Acc. and force-Pl.Acc.

quantaecumque *sunt,* *nostras* *esse* *duco.*
however great be-3Pl. our-Acc. be.Inf. consider- 1Sg.

(Cic. *Fam*.15.1.6)

‘I consider King Deiotarus's will and forces, as great they are, to be on our side’

Occasionally, ordinary titles or occupational terms are also found in his letters **(**e.g. *Asclapone Patrensi, medico*,.. ‘the physician Asclapo of Patrae' [Cic.*Fam.* 13.20]).

Similarly, in the era of Pliny, highly powerful officials were addressed or referred to by their titles. The title *rex* ‘king’ was used by Pliny to refer to kings of other lands (e.g. *Legato Sauromatae regis* ‘an ambassador of King Sauromates’ [Pliny, *Ep*. 10.67.1]).

On the other hand, Pliny addresses the emperor Trajan by the titles *imperator* 'emperor' and *domine* 'master': "The Latin title *dominus* 'master' expressed so much respect that the early emperors did not presume to demand it, and its assumption by later emperors was considered proof that the Romans had been reduced to slavery" (Dickey 2002:77).

(122) *Indulgentia* *tua,* *imperator* *optime,* *quam*
indulgence-Nom. your emperor-Voc. good-Voc.Superl. which

Plenisimam experior... (Pliny, *Ep*.10.4.1)
Plenty-Acc. try-Inf.

'Your kindness, good Emperor, of which I experienced a lot, …'

(123) *Proxima* *infirmitas* *mea,* *domine,* *obligavit* *me*
near-Superl. weakness-Nom. my master-Voc. bind- 3Sg.Perf. my-Acc.

Postumio *Marino* *medico;* *cui* *parem*
Postumius Marinus doctor-Dat. to whom serve-1Sg. Subju.

gratiam *referre* *beneficio* *tuo* *possum*…
favor-Acc. return-Inf. generous-Abl. your-Abl. can-1Sg.

(Pliny, *Ep*. 10.11.1)

'My recent illness, master, bound me to my doctor, Postumius Marinus, to whom I should return a favor and I can so with your generosity...'

3.2.1.4. Names

Addressing by first names was so usual and ordinary that, as we discussed earlier, slaves could alternatively use first names to address their masters: "[...] names are widely employed as a standard form of address: names are used unless the relationship between speaker and addressee is one which specifically calls for other terms such as titles or kinship terms, or unless insults or other marked addresses are warranted by the context" (Dickey 2002:44). The use of first names to address the masters, even in the presence of a third party, is attested in our data.

(124) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides)]

Interdum	*inepte*	*stultus*	*es,*	*Theopropides.*
sometimes	silly.Voc.	foolish	be-2Sg.	Theopropides-Voc.

(Plaut. *Most.*496)

'You are sometimes foolish, silly Theopropides'

Although the use of first names was not out of the ordinary to the extent that slaves would use names to address their masters, we believe, on the basis of our data, that names were used by slaves who were considered confidants or loyal servants. In *Mercator,* however, first names are mostly used in conversations among friends.

Centuries later, we find the frequent use of names in referential address when Cicero addresses various people (e.g. friends, family, senators, etc). What distinguishes Cicero's letters from previous texts is the use of two names (i.e. first and last names) in order to be formal (Dickey 2002: 53). Romans initially had a single name; yet the Roman naming system soon developed a system with two names: a given name (i.e. "praenomen"), corresponding to the original single name, and an inherited name (i.e.

"nomen gentilicium") (Dickey2002: 46-47). In this binary naming system, single names were used in informal situations, while the use of both names was reserved for more formal settings. The use of double names, generally, could indicate a " higher level of formality", " greater deference to the addressee", " the introduction of a new addressee", and " the need to emphasize specific points" (Dickey 2002:53). While the use of double names was mostly to introduce addressees for the first time, in most letters, Cicero continues the use of double names, as referential terms, throughout the letters, which could indicate his consistency in his respectful attitude towards the third party.

(125) [Cicero to Marcus Putilius (a friend)]

Is	*cum*	*ex*	*aliis*	*te*	*mei*
he	with	from	others-Masc. Abl.	you.2Sg.Abl.	me-Gen.

studiosissimum	*esse*	*cognosset,*		*petivit*	*a*
devoted- Superl.Acc.	be- Inf.	learn- 3Sg**.** Pluperf.Subju.		seek-3Sg.Perf.	by

me,	*ut*	*ad*	*te*	*quam*	*accuratissime*
me-Abl.	that	to	you-Acc.2Sg.	as...as possible	carefully.Superl.

scriberem		*de*	*re*	*C.Albini*	*senatoris,*
write-1Sg. Imperf. Subju.		about	regarding	C.Albinius	senator-Gen.

cuius	*ex*	*filia*	*natus*	*est*	*L. Sestius,*
whose	from	daughter-Nom.	born-Part.Sg.Masc.	be-3Sg.	L. Sestius

optimus	*adolescens,*	*filius*	*P. Sesti.*
good-Superl.	adolescent-Nom.	son-Nom.	P.Senstius-Gen.

(Cic. *Fam*. 13. 8.1)

'He had learned from others about your devotion, and he asked me to write to you with care regarding senator C.Albinius, whose grandson is L.Sestius, son of P. Senstiu, a good adolescent'

Unlike Cicero, Pliny uses the double name at the beginning of his letters and he continues referring to people by only their last name in the rest of the letters, which also indicates a degree of formality.

3.2.1.5. Modifying Adjective

The Latin possessive adjective *mi* 'my' had a crucial role in expressing politeness. In early periods of Latin, the possessive adjective in vocative or nominative forms (i.e. *mi*, *mea* and *meus*) could accompany lexical terms and add an endearing meaning to the context: "*Mi* in comedy can also be used to addressees who are neither relatives nor lovers, though in such contexts it is comparatively rare. It tends to be attached to special expressions of affection or gratitude, important greetings, pleas, and other speeches calling for an unusually high level of positive politeness" (Dickey 2002:222).

(126) [courtesan (Philematium) to her maid (Scapha)]

Phil.	*Contempla,*		*amabo,*	*mea*	*Scapha,*	*satin*	*haec*	*me*
	contemplate. 2Sg.Imp.		please	my-Voc.	Scapha	enough	this	me.Acc.
	vestis	*deceat.*				(Plaut. *Most*. 165)		
	clothing-Nom.	fit-3Sg.Subju.						

'Look, please, my Scapha, if this outfit suits me'

(127) [gentleman (Philolaches) to courtesan (Philematium)]

Philol. [...]	*dabo*	*aliquid*	*hodie*	*peculi*	*tibi,*	
	give-1Sg. Fut.	something	today	small proprty.Gen.	you.Dat.	
	Philematium	*mea.*		(Plaut. *Most.*251)		
	Philematium	my-Voc.				

'Today, I give you a property for your own, my Philematium'

Mi, however, was not exclusively accompanied by names. In fact, *mi* in combination with general lexical terms would also define respect and deference: *mi sodalist* 'my companion' (Plaut.*Merc*.947), *mi senex* 'my (dear) old man' (Plaut.*Merc*.503, 508, 524). Similarly, a combination of the adjective possessive *mea*, the feminine form of *mi,* and first name is attested as an endearment or friendly term when the confident and loyal slave of an old man addresses the wife of his master: *mea Dorippa* 'my (dear) Dorippa' (Plaut. *Merc*. 683).

The possessive adjective *mi* is attested from the earliest period in all types of texts as a polite linguistic element of Latin. Even though *mi* could be used in different kind of texts (e.g. comedy, literary prose, etc.), its usage was, in fact, frequent in epistolary texts, where it would accompany vocatives:

> It thus appears that the epistolary genre is a major factor determining the use of *mi*: vocatives in letters are likely to have *mi* attached, while those in other situations use *mi* much less often […] Even within the genre of the letter, however, *mi* is far from obligatory. It is an element of positive politeness [...] and may therefore be omitted not only where no friendship exists and no politeness is intended (e.g. Cic. *Fam*. II.3.I, Brutus and Cassius to Antony), but also in respectful contexts, when affection does exist but negative politeness is more appropriate (e.g. Cic. *Fam*. 8.16.I, Caelius to Cicero). Thus Pliny does not use *mi* to Trajan, but Trajan uses it in return.
>
> (Dickey 2002:218)

In letters of Cicero, in addition to the vocative *mi* or nominative *meus* (e.g. *meos municipes* 'my fellow-citizens' [Cic. *Fam*.13.11.1], *mi Tiro* 'my (dear) Tiro' [Cic. *Fam.* 16.22.2], *mi frater* 'my (dear) brother' [Cic. *Q.Frat.* 1.4.1], *mea Terentia* 'my (dear) Terentia' [Cic. *Fam*.14.2.2]), we also find the dative *mihi* 'to me' and the genitive *nostrum* 'of us' (e.g. *Demetrium redde nostrum* 'send me back our Demetrius' [Cic.

Fam.16.19]) as polite forms. The first person plural possessive pronoun *noster*, which was not frequently used in epistolary texts, would indicate less informality and emotion than *mi* (Dickey 2002:224). Similarly, in the exchange letters between Pliny and the emperor, the emperor Trajan, in all his letters, addresses Pliny with deference and respect using the vocative *mi Secunde carissime* 'my dear Pliny (the Second)'.

(128) *Interpretationi tuae, mi Secunde carissime*
interpretation-Dat. your-Dat. my-Voc. Pliny (the Second) dear-Voc. Superl.

idem existimo... (Pliny, *Ep*.10.80)
same consider- 1Sg.

'I consider the same interpretation as yours, my dear Pliny, ...'

As shown earlier, Dickey (2002: 222) considers *mi* as indicating positive politeness. This conclusion may not be incorrect since *mi* indicates respect by showing friendship and intimacy. However, we may not be able to confirm this assumption because *mi* can accompany any kind of name or adjective. Those names can be honorifics or titles which normally occur when the speaker chooses the negative politeness (e.g. *my patrone* [Plaut. *Rud*. 1266]). Rather than labeling *mi* a device of positive or negative politeness, we should consider it a vehicle to flatter and endear the addressee regardless of the polite strategy used by the speaker.

In addition to the possessive adjective, the speaker could express his politeness by using descriptive adjectives accompanying any type of lexical address term (e.g. general term, titles, abstract terms, etc). The tendency to modify address terms with descriptive adjectives in order to make the address more polite and flattering is seen from the earliest texts (*mulierem lepidam et pudico* [Plaut. *Most*. 203]). An increasing number of

descriptive adjectives for both addressees and referents, however, can be found in epistolary texts (e.g. *mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia et Tulliola* 'my sweetest and most pleasant Terentia and Tulliola [Cic. *Fam*.14.5.3])**.** Cicero and Pliny, by adding positive adjectives, express their respect for the personality of the referent regardless of the social status and power of the referent (e.g. *optimus adolescens* 'good young man'[Cic. *Fam*.13.8.1], *bonos viros* 'good men' [Cic.*Fam*.13.11.3], *egregius iuvenis* 'excellent young man' [Pliny, *Ep*. 10. 29.1]): "In referential usage, adjectives normally have three degrees: positive, comparative, and superlative. For most words the positive degree simply attributes a quality to the referent, as *carus* 'dear'" (Dickey 2002: 133-134). Pliny, in a similar way, to show his extreme deference towards the emperor, modifies the address term *emperor* or any term related to the emperor by a polite adjective. Addressing the emperor, for instance, Pliny writes *divo patre tuo* '(from) your deified father' (Pliny, *Ep*.10.4.2).

We, however, like to especially point to the adjectives *bonus, bellus* or *carus*, in combination with vocatives (i.e. direct address terms): "One very common method of expressing such emotions [i.e. affection, esteem] is by means of an affectionate or respectful adjective such as *carissime* 'dearest', which can be used alone or added to a name, kinship term, or other type of address" (Dickey 2002: 130).

(129) [host to a guest]

"Rogo"	*inquit*	*"Agamemnon*	*mihi*	*carissime ..."*	(Petr.*Sat*.48)
ask- 1Sg.	say- 3Sg.	Agamemnon	me.Dat.	dear-Voc.Superl.	

'He says "I ask, my dear Agamemnon,…"'

(130) [guest talking about a friend]

Homo	*bellus,*	*tam*	*bonus*	*Chrysanthus*	*animam*
man-Nom.	fine-Nom.	so	good-Nom.	Chrysanthus-Nom.	soul-Acc.

ebulliit. (Petr.*Sat*.42)
boast- 3Sg.Perf.

'A fine man, good Chrysanthus, boasted of his soul'

Carissime, however, was not seen alone and it was accompanied, in all instances, by the possessive adjective *mi*, which would increase the degree of endearment (e.g. *mi Secunde carissime* 'my dear Pliny (the second)' [Pliny, *Ep*.10. 80]). The three adjectives *bonus, bellus* and *carus* became highly productive in Medieval French to the extent that they could be the only established vocative adjectives, expressing respect and affection.

It is also worth mentioning the use of the frequent referential term *homo* 'a human being, a man' in the *Satyricon*, as it is shown in example (130). *Homo* was a general term and like any other general term could become polite when modified by positive adjective. According to Ernout and Meillet (1967, s.v. *homō*), *homo*, in familiar language, was sometimes used to replace demonstratives (e.g. *is, iste, ille*). The demonstrative pronouns *ille* and *hic* in the sense of 'that (i.e. that man)' and 'this (i.e. this man)' respectively are also attested in the *Satyricon* (Petr. *Sat*. 27, 49). Although Head (1978: 182) argues that demonstrative *ille* which points to "something or someone distant from both speaker and addressee" indicates politeness because 'proximity' is a determining variable of politeness in some languages, the use of *ille* in our data does not support such assumption.

3.2.1.6. Kinship Terms

It is important to point out the use of word *di* 'gods' in Latin. Latin speakers pictured their gods as symbols of divinity and absolute power and they would certainly address gods or refer to them with deference and respect. To intensify the deferential attitude, speakers could use adjectives like *immortales* 'immortal' (example 116), or they could assimilate gods with powerful and nourishing parents. In the latter situation, gods (or other religious and sacred figures) could be addressed by kinship terms *pater* 'father' or *mater* 'mother'.

(131) [female salves to priestess of Venus]

Iubemus	*te*	*salvere,*	*mater.*	(Plaut.*Rud*.263)
order-1Pl.	you-2Sg.Acc.	be well-Inf.	mother-Voc.	

'We hope that you are doing well, mother'

(132)

Mars	*pater,*	*quod*	*tibi*	*illoc*	*porco*	*neque*
Mars	father	because	you.Dat.	that one	pig.Abl.	and not

satisfactum	*est,*	*te*	*hoc*	*porco*	*piaculo.*
satisfied- Part.	be.3Sg.	you.Acc.	this.Abl.	pig.Abl.	appease-1Sg.

(Cato, *Rust.*141)

'Father Mars, because that pig did not satisfied you, I sacrifice this pig for you'

Terra mater 'Mother Earth'(Petr. *Sat.* 39), *Iane pater* 'Father Janus'(Cato, *Rust.* 134) are a few other instances of using kinship terms in addressing gods.

To summarize, on the basis of our data, we argue that politeness could be expressed through lexical terms in both direct and referential address (i.e. titles, terms of endearment, affectionate terms, or neutral terms accompanied by adjectives), which became more frequent by the first century BC in texts written by Cicero, who was a

representative of a different level of society. On the basis of the degree of formality and politeness, we firmly reject the idea that the notion of politeness started to emerge around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Western societies ([see section 2.4.] Watts 2003, Ehlich 2005). However, the occasional but not imperative use of *erus* as direct or referential address terms, the use of neutral terms by slaves to address people of higher social status, the use of polite language towards slaves by their masters or other powerful individuals, and the use of names by slaves to address masters show the absence of formal language between superiors and inferiors in early periods. On the other hand, in later texts, the use of the term *dominus* as address and referential terms for masters and the use of the term *servus* addressing slaves show the desire for more distant relationship between masters and slaves, which would point to the authoritarian status of masters. Considering the relationship among friends and relatives, once again, we found the higher degree of formality and deference as we move forward in time. In later Latin, the use of double names , the frequent use of titles, and the increasing number of polite adjectives to describe personalities indicate the importance of preserving social distance (i.e. negative politeness, see section 2.2.1). If we attempt to analyze our data on the basis of existing theories of politeness, and especially, the well known theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), we assume that the positive politeness strategies in early Latin are gradually replaced by negative politeness strategies in later Latin. Yet, if slaves started to use titles and more formal terms in later Latin, it was not because they wanted to avoid imposition. Rather, they had to use formal terms to expose the power of masters and to remember the gap in their social status.

3.3. POLITENESS TACTICS AND STRATEGIES IN LATIN

Although, as discussed in the previous section, politeness in Latin could be expressed though terms of address, we will show that terms of address were not the only polite linguistic elements and in many instances Latin speakers had to rely on other linguistic means to express politeness. We therefore examine polite strategies and linguistic means that are frequently used in different relationships and situations in the plays of Plautus (3rd century B.C.), the *Satyricon* of Petronius (1st century AD), and the letters of Cicero (1st century BC) and Pliny (1st century AD). The relationship between the speaker, the addressee and the referent would determine which linguistic means and structures to use in the discourse.

3.3.1. Politeness in Master-Slave Relationship

The relationship between master and slave is well presented in the plays of Plautus. The data from *Mostellaria* and *Mercator* include a low number of polite expressions or sentences in conversations between slaves and masters although certain expressions of respect or obedience can be found.

(133) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides)]

Tr.	*Faciam,*	*ut*	*iubes.*	(Plaut. *Most*.928)
	do- 1Sg.Fut.	just as	order- 2Sg.	

'I will do just as you order'

(134) [Conversation between a master (Theopropides) and his slave (Tranio)]

Th. *Curriculo* *iube* *in* *urbem* *veniat* *iam*
running- Abl. order-2Sg.Imp. toward city.Acc. come- 3Sg.Subju. now

simul *tecum.* (Plaut. *Most*.929)
at once with you

'Order him to come quickly to the city with you'

Tr. *Licet.* (Plaut. *Most*.930)
be allowed-3Sg.

'Certainly'

Similarly, the impersonal expression *licet* is seen repeatedly in the language of both master and slave in the play *Rudens* (1210-1217) written by Plautus.

(135) [conversation between an old gentleman (Daemones) and a slave (Trachalio)]

Daem: *Eloquere* *ut* *haec* *res* *optigit* *de*
speak-2Sg. Imp. that this thing occur- 3Sg.Perf. about

filia ; *eum* *roga,* *ut* *relinquat* *alias*
daughter.Abl. him ask- 2Sg.Imp. that abandon- 3Sg. Subju. other

res *et* *huc* *veniat.*
things and to this place come- 3Sg. Subju.

'Tell him about what happened to the daughter and ask him to come to this place, abandoning other things'

Trach. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

'Certainly'

Daem. *Dicito* *daturum* *meam* *illi* *filiam*
say. 2Sg. Imp.Fut. given-Part.Fut. my he-Dat. daughter.Acc.

uxorem.
wife- Acc.

‘You will tell him that he will marry my daughter’

Trach. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

‘Certainly’

Daem. *Et* *patrem* *eius* *me* *novisse* *et* *mi* *esse*
and father his me know-Inf.Perf. and my.Dat. be.Inf.

cognatum.
related.

‘And I knew his father who is a relative of mine’

Trach. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

‘Certainly’

Daem. *Sed* *propera.*
but hurry- 2Sg.Imp.

Hurry!

Trach. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

‘Certainly’

Daem. *Iam* *hic* *fac* *sit,* *cena* *ut*
Now here do-2Sg. Imp. be. 3Sg. Subju. dinner just as

curetur.
attend to- 3Sg. Subju. Pass.

‘Now, make him be here to attend the dinner’

Trach. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

‘Certainly’

Daem. *Omnian* *licet?*
every be allowed.3Sg.

'Do you agree to everything?

Trach. *Licet.* *sed* *scin* *quid* *est* *quod*
be allowed-3Sg. but know-2Sg. Interr. what be-3Sg. that

te *volo ?* *quod* *promisisti* *ut*
you-2Sg. Acc. wish- 1Sg. Conj. promise- 2Sg. Perf. that

memineris, *hodie* *ut* *liber* *sim.*
remember-2Sg. Fut. Perf. today that free be- 1Sg.Subju.

'Certainly. But, do you know what is that I want you to do? The fact that you remember that you promised to free me today'

Daem. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

'Certainly'

Trach. *Fac* *ut* *exores* *Plesidippum,* *ut* *me*
do- 2Sg. Imp. just as prevail-2Sg. Subju. Plesidippus so that me

manu *emittat.*
hand-Abl. free- 3Sg.Subju.

'Convince Plesidippus to let me go'

Daem. *Licet.*
be allowed-3Sg.

'Certainly'

The conversation between the master and the slave (of another master), of course, continues and we observe more uses of the term *licet*. Although the term *licet* was intentionally used in great frequency in the comedy of Plautus in order to make fun of the master-slave relationship, the term was undoubtedly a polite term indicating the

confirmation and acceptance on the part of the speaker. A similar structure is attested by Brown and Levinson (1987) in Malagasy and Tamil languages (e.g. Tamil *irukka TTum* 'let it be' [1987: 196]). Brown and Levinson (1987:196) call these structures "passive imperative" and categorize them as impersonal structures, where agents are deleted.

In addition to the low number of polite expressions, formulae, or polite linguistic structures between slaves and masters, slaves could also order or advise their masters.

(136) [slave (Acanthio) to his master (Charinus)]

Ne	*rogites,*	*maxumum*	*infortunium*	*est.*
not	ask eagerly-2Sg. Subju.	great- Superl.	ill luck-Acc.	be- 3Sg.

(Plaut. *Merc*.167)

'You should not ask eagerly; it is extremely unfortunate'

(137) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides)]

Abscede	*ab*	*ianua.*	*fuge* ...	(Plaut. *Most*. 512)
go away- 2Sg.Imp.	from	door- Abl.	run away- 2Sg.Imp.	

'Stay away from the door! Run away! ... '

The direct imperative is a structure found in the 'bald-on-record' strategy used by the speaker who wishes to be direct and clear rather than to be polite (Brown and Levinson 1987). In these contexts, slaves could, however, be considered confidants who allow themselves to act as friends. In example (136), the use of subjunctive softens the command and in example (137) the imperative is used because of the urgency. In a few instances, masters also had polite requests to slaves.

(138) [Master (Charinus) to his slave (Acanthio)]

hoc	*quod*	*te*	*rogo*	*responde*	*quaeso.*
this	because	you-Acc.	ask- 1Sg.	answer- 2Sg. Imp.	beg- 1Sg. Imp.

(Plaut. *Merc*.215)

'I ask you to answer it, I beg you'

(139) [Master (Charinus) to his slave (Acanthio)]

Obserco	*hercle*	*oroque*	*ut*	*istuc*	*quid*
Beseech- 1Sg.	by Hercules	beg- 1Sg.+ and	that	there	what

sit	*actutum*	*indices,*	*quandoquidem*	*mihi*
be- 3Sg.Subju.	immediately	show-2Sg. Subju.	since	me.Dat.

supplicandum	*servolo*	*video*	*meo.*	(Plaut. *Merc*. 170)
beseech.Ger.	slave-Dat.	see- 1Sg.	my-Dat.	

'I beg you, by Hercules, to show me immediately what is there, since I see that I should beg my own slave'

The above examples may point to the lack of the expected social gap between masters and slaves in the plays of Plautus. Westermann (1955), referring to Seneca, a poet of the first century AD, indicates that, in early periods, slaves were parts of the household, who could have a good relationship with their masters.

> Seneca has stated in idealized form the simplicity of the relations and the mutual regard between master and slave which supposedly existed in the early period of the Republic. The slave-owners were called *patres familiae* ['fathers of the family'] and the slaves *familares* ['slaves of the household', 'domestics'] and there was neither hatred for the masters nor scorn for the slaves.
>
> (Westermann 1955:69)

The most polite conversations are generally seen between slaves and persons with whom slaves had friendly or affectionate relationships (i.e. neighbors, other masters, or persons who had bought their freedom) (see examples [140] and [141]).

(140) [slave (Tranio) to a neighbor, a friend of his master (Simo)]

Hominem	*optumum*	*teneo.*	(Plaut. *Most*.716)
man- Acc.	good.Superl. Acc.	hold- 1Sg.	

'I hold the greatest man'

(141) [slave (Tranio) and a neighbor, a friend of the master (Simo)]

Tr.	*di*	*te*	*ament*	*plurimum,*	*Simo.*
	gods.Nom.	you-2Sg.Acc.	like-3Pl. Subju.	much-Superl.	Simo

'May the gods bless you, Simo!'

Si.	*Salvos*	*sis,*	*Tranio.*
	safe.Pl.Acc.	be- 2Sg. Subju.	Tranio-Voc.

'Be safe, Tranio!'

Tr.	*Vt*	*vales?*	(Plaut. *Most*.713-715)
	how	be well. 2Sg.	

'How are you?'

On the other hand, a rather rude conversation occurs in a discourse between a slave and a stranger, the master of other slaves. The example (142) indicates that, probably, the social difference was not a triggering factor for politeness in early periods since the slave could not be ignorant of their social differences.

(142) [slave (Phaniscus) to another master (Theopropodes), unknown to him]

Heus	*senex,*	*quid*	*tu*	*percontare*	*ad*
Interj.	old man-Nom.	why	you-2Sg.Nom.	interrogate-2Sg.	to

te	*quod*	*nihil*	*attinet ?*	(Plaut. *Most*. 939)
you-2Sg.Acc.	because	nothing	keep- 3Sg.	(*nihil attinet*: it is pointless)

'Ah! Old man! Why are you interrogating me because it is pointless'

A friendly conversation is also attested in a discourse between a freed slave (in this case a courtesan) and a maid.

(126)/(143) [courtesan (Philematium) to her maid (Scapha)]

Contempla,	*amabo,*	*mea*	*Scapha,*	*satin*	*heac*
Contemplate- 2Sg.Imp.	please	my.Voc.	Scapha	enough	this

me	*vestis*	*deceat.*	(Plaut. *Most*. 165)
me.Acc.	clothing-Nom.	fit- 3Sg. Subju.	

'Look, please, my Scapha, if this outfit suits me'

As it is illustrated in the above examples, politeness in the plays of Plautus could be expressed by agreeing (i.e. *licet*), requesting, begging, greetings, giving compliments, advising by using imperatives or subjunctives, and using polite expressions like *amabo* 'please'.

In contrast to the plays of Plautus, in the *Satyricon*, slaves rarely engage in direct conversations with their masters or the guests. Example (115) (section 3.2.1.2) shows an unfriendly relation between masters and slaves.

(115)/(144)

Quisquis	*servus*	*sine*	*dominico*
each	slave-Nom.	without	lordly [from master]-Abl.

iussu	*foras*	*Exierit*	*accipiet*
at the command of	out of doors	exit-3Sg.Fut. Perf.	receive-3Sg.Fut.

plagas	*centum.*	(Petr.*Sat*.28)
strokes	hundred	

'Each slave will receive one hundred strokes if he goes out of doors without his master's permission'

A few sentences uttered by slaves are not specifically polite or impolite in tone, since slaves would address everybody in the room. On the basis of our data, seemingly, slaves

that Petronius pictured in his work were only allowed to say a few words either to guide the guests or to cheer and bless the guests (examples [145], [146]).

(145) [...] *exclamavit* *unus* *ex* *pueris* […] *"Dextero* *pede."*
cry out-3Sg.Perf. one from boys-Abl. right foot

(Petr. *Sat*.30)

'[...], one of the young slaves cried out, […], "right foot"'

(146) *Plausum* *post* *hoc* *automatum* *familia*
applause-Acc. after this spontaneous-Acc. household of slaves

dedit *et* *" Gaio* *feliciter"* *conclamavit*.
give- 3Sg.Perf. and Gaius successfully shout loudly-3Sg.Perf.

(Petr.*Sat*.50)

'After this, slaves gave spontaneous applause and shouted loudly 'successfully Gaius!'

3.3.2. Polite Language Among Friends

From the earliest texts on, we find the most careful and deferential language (i.e. greetings, asking for permission, praising, showing sympathy, praying to gods, etc.) among friends.

(147) [friend to friend (Simo and Theopropides)] (Plaut. *Most*.805-807)

Th. *Dei* *te* *ament.*
gods- Nom. you-2Sg.Acc. like- 3Pl.Subju.

'May the gods like you!'

Si. *Inspicere* *te* *aedis* *has* *velle*
Inspect-Inf. you-2Sg. Acc. building-Nom. this want-Inf.

aiebat *mihi.*
affirm- 3Sg.Imperf. me-Dat.

‘He told me that you would like to inspect this building’

Th. *Nisi* *tibi* *est* *incommodum.*
If not you- Dat. be- 3Sg. inappropriate

‘If it is not inconvenient for you’

Si. *Immo* *commodum.* *i* *intro* *atque* *inspice.*
no indeed appropriate go- 2Sg.Imp. within and inspect- 2Sg.Imp.

‘No indeed, it is convenient. Go! and inspect!’

(148) [friend to friend (Demipho to Lysimachus)] (Plaut. *Merc*. 283-286)

Dem. *Lysimache,* *salve.*
Lysimache be well.2Sg.Imp.

‘Lysimache, be well!’

Lys. *Euge,* *Demipho,* *salveto.* *Quid* *agis ?* *quid*
well done Dimipho be well-2Sg. Fut.Imp. how do- 2Sg. what

fit ?
happen-3Sg.

‘Well, Demipho, good day! How are you doing? How is going?

Dem. *Quod* *miserrumus.*
The fact that miserable

‘In fact, miserable’

Lys. *Di* *melius* *faxint.*
gods-Nom**.** good- Comp. do- 3Pl. Subju. Perf.

‘May the gods help’

Dem. *Di* *hoc* *quidem* *faciunt.*
gods- Nom. this indeed do- 3Pl.

‘The gods indeed do this’

Lys. *Quid* *est?*
what be- 3Sg.

'What is it?'

Dem. *Dicam,* *si* *videam* *tibi* *esse* *operam*
say-1Sg.Fut. if see-1Sg.Subju. you-2Sg.Dat. be-Inf. work-Acc.

aut *otium.*
or leisure-Acc.

'I will say if I see that you have free time or time for work'

Lys. *Quamquam* *negotiumst,* *si* *quid* *vis,* *Demipho,*
although business if what wish-2Sg.Subju Demipho,

non *sum* *occupatus* *umquam* *amico*
not be- 1Sg. occupation-Nom. at any time friend- Dat.

operam *dare.*
to work hard at.

'Although I am busy, if you want help at any time, Demipho, I am not busy for a friend'

Dem. *Benignitatem* *tuam* *mi* *experto* *praedicas.*
kindness-Acc. your-2Sg.Acc. my experience declare-2Sg.

'I know (according to my experience) that you show your kindnesses'

The use of the 'if-clause' construction reveals that the speakers employ a negative politeness strategy. The speakers pay their respect by seeking the permission or the opinion of the addressees (see also Brown and Levinson 1987: 162-163). 'Praising' and 'blessing' are other strategies used in the above conversations.

In the *Satyricon* of Petronius, we have also found polite conversations among friends, although polite conversations are not numerous because the text is a novel rather

than a play or a dialogue. Therefore, we are dealing with a series of reported events by the narrator. The polite language is mostly attested in the language of the host addressing the guests, who are considered friends.

(149) *Permittitis* *tamen* *finiri* *lusum.* (Petr. *Sat*. 33)
allow- 2Pl. however finish-Inf. Pass. game

'Do you allow that I finish the game?'

(150) *aliqua* *die* *te* *persuadeam,* *ut* *ad* *villam*
some day you-2Sg.Acc. persuade-1Sg.Subju. that to country house

venias *et* *videas* *casuals* *nostras ?* (Pet.*Sat*.46)
come- 2Sg.Subju. and see- 2Sg.Subju. little our

'Can I persuade you to come some day and see our little farm?'

(151) " *Ignoscite* *mihi"* *inquit* *"amici,* *multis*
forgive- 2Pl. Imp. me-Dat. say- Perf.3Sg. firend-Pl.Voc. many.Dat.

iam *diebus* *venter* *mihi* *non* *respondit.*
now days. Dat. stomach me.Dat. not respond- 3Sg. Perf.

(Petr. *Sat*. 47)

'Forgive me' he said 'my friends, for many days, now, my stomach has not responded'

(152) *Dic* *ergo,* *si* *me* *amas,* *peristasim*
tell- 2Sg.Imp. then if me-Acc. like- 2Sg. outline

declamationis *tuae.* (Petr. *Sat*.48)
declamation-Gen. your- Sg.Gen.

'Tell then, if you like me, an outline of your declamation'

(153) *"Suadeo"* *inquit* *Trimalchio* *"cenemus …*
recommand- 1Sg. say- 3Sg.Perf. Trimalchio eat- 1Pl.

(Petr.*Sat*.36)

'Trimalchio said: "I recommend that we eat…"'

Drawing on the universal theory of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), questions, the verb *ignoscite* 'forgive', the 'if-clause' and the subjunctive mood, in the above examples, are features of negative politeness strategies, while verb in the first person plural is a feature of positive politeness.

Even though we observe politeness in the plays of Plautus and the novel of Petronius, the letters of Pliny and Cicero show the highest degree of politeness. This may not be surprising as Pliny and Cicero were representatives of the upper class society: "Even in the relatively relaxed face-to-face encounters […] the Roman aristocrat was to observe a measure of restraint in his language" (Hall 2009: 9). The degree of formality in Cicero's letters, however, distinguishes his letters from those of Pliny. What is mostly seen in Cicero's letters is praising the addressees and begging them to do what he wishes them to do, instead of directly ordering them.

(154) *Hoc* *te* *vehementer* *etiam* *atque* *etiam* *rogo.*
this you-2Sg.Acc. exceedingly again and again ask-1Sg.

(Cic. *Fam.* 13.5.3)

'I ask you this exceedingly again and again'

(155) [...] *tamen* *a* *te* *peto* *in* *maiorem*
yet from you-2Sg.Abl. beg-1Sg. towards great-Superl.Acc.

modum, *ut* *eum* *etiam* *atque* *etiam* *tuis*
manner-Acc. that him again and again your-2Pl.Abl.

officiis *et* *liberalitate* *complectare*.
respectful services-Abl. and generosity-Abl**.** embrace-2Sg.Subju.

(Cic. *Fam*. 13.24.3)

'Yet, I sincerely beg you again and again to embrace him with your respectful services and generosity'

(156) [...] *magno* *opere* *vos* *et* *hortor* *et* *moneo...*
great-Abl. work.Abl. you-2Pl. Acc. and urge- 1Sg. and advise-1Sg.

(Cic. *Fam*. 15.1.4)

'I urge and advise you to work hard'

(157) *Cura* *te,* *si* *me* *amas,* *diligenter.*
care for- 2Sg.Imp. you-2Sg.Acc. if me-Acc. like-2Sg. carefully

(Cic.*Fam*.16.20)

'Take care of yourself carefully, if you like me'

Instead of using imperatives, the speaker expresses his demand and wishes via verbs like *rogo* 'I ask', *peto* 'I beg'/ 'I ask for', *hortor* 'I urge'/'I encourage'. The speaker, using such verbs, diminishes the imposition and shows that he does not want to force the addressee to comply with his order. Rather he needs the addressee to accept his request. According to Dickey (2012), these verbs could be equivalents to the polite expression 'please'.

> [...] classical Latin does possess a number of words that appear to have a function not dissimilar to 'please', in that they are frequently attached to polite requests; the most common of these terms are *uelim* 'I would like', *quaeso* 'I seek', *rogo* 'I ask', *peto* 'I ask', and *oro* 'I beg'. These 'please' equivalents offer a useful subject for studying Latin politeness... (Dickey 2012: 318)

Dickey (2012:321) futher points to the frequent use of "modifiers" such as *uehementer* (*vehementer*) *'vigorously, earnestly'* and *eitam atque etiam 'over and over again'* with the verb *rogo* as "modifiers" that "strengthen the force of the appeal carried by *rogo*". In our data (see example 154 and 155), we have similarly found the use of these modifiers with verbs of request.

On the other hand, the imperative is used to indicate the sincere wishes for well being of the addressee. Other polite expressions (i.e. thanking, indebting oneself, etc.) just to convey deference towards addressees are also richly attested in Cicero's letters.

(158) [...] *ut* *debeo,* *tibi* *gratias* *ago...* (Cic.*Fam*.13.24.2)
so that must-1Sg. you-2Sg.Dat. thank-1Sg.

'So that I must thank you'

(159) *Maius* *mihi* *dare* *beneficium* *nullum* *potes*.
great-Comp. me-Dat. give-Inf. favour no can-2Sg.

(Cic.*Fam*. 13.8.3)

'You can do no greater favor to me'

Cicero also treats his brother with the same degree of deference with which he addresses his friends. Although no significant difference is detected in the style of letters of Cicero to his friends and those to his brother, he would use more advice addressing his brother.

(160) *Sed* *memento* , *consili* *me* *hoc* *negotium*
but remember- 2Sg.Fut.Imp. judgment- Gen. me-Acc. this trouble

esse *magis* *aliquanto,* *quam* *fortunae,* *putare*.
be.Inf. more considerably than fortune-Gen. think-Inf.

(Cic. *Q.Frat*.1.1.7)

‘But, remember that I think that this trouble is more about judgment than fortune’

Referring to Cicero himself, Hall (2009:127-128) points to ‘giving direct advice to friends’ as a sign of “politness and frankness”: “[...] Cicero asserts that it is in fact the duty of friends to offer advice in a candid and forthright manner. This is possible because, by definition, true friends always have each other's best interests at heart...”

In Pliny’s letters to his friends, we similarly find the use of verbs like *moneo* ‘I advise’, *hortor* ‘I urge’/‘I encourage’ or imperatives to give advice.

(161) *Isdem* *nunc* *ego* *te* *quibus* *ipsum* *me* *hortor*
the same now I you-2Sg.Acc. which.Abl. myself me-Acc. urge-1Sg.

moneo *confirmo.* (Pliny, *Ep*. 8.10.3)
advise- 1Sg. encourage-1Sg.

‘Now, I urge and encourage you the same way I advise myself’

(162) *Recordare* *quid* *quaeque* *civitas* *fuerit ...*
remember- 2Sg.Imp. what each city-Acc. be- 3Sg.Subju.Perf.

(Pliny, *Ep*. 8.24.5)

‘Remember what each city was’

The letters of Pliny, of course, were not only about friendly advice or warnings, he also thanks, praises, or asks permission in his letters even though these strategies are not used frequently by him. Politeness, in the following examples, is mainly conveyed by the meaning of the verbs (e.g. *peto, permitte, Gratias ago*), if-clauses and the subjunctive.

(163) *Quo* *iustius* *peto* *primum* *ut* *errori,* *si* *quis*
In any way right beg-1Sg. first that error-Dat. if anything

est *error,* *tribuas* *veniam,*
be- 3Sg. mistake allow-2Sg. Subju. come- 1Sg.Subju.

deinde *medearis* *scientia* *tua* *cui* *semper*
then assist-2Sg. knowledge-Abl. your.2Sg. Abl. who.Dat. always

fuit *curae…* (Pliny, *Ep*. 8. 14.10)
be- 3Sg.Perf. care-Dat.

'I beg you in any way possible, first, to allow me to come if I committed any mistake, so you assist me with your knowledge since you have always been caring'

(164) *Atque* *adeo* *permitte* *mihi* *sic* *apud*
and indeed go- 1Sg. permit- 2Sg.Imp. me-Dat. so with

te *tamquam* *ibi...* (Pliny, *Ep*. 8.14.16)
you-2Sg.Acc. just as there

'Indeed, just let me go with you there…'

(165) *Gratias ago* *; agerem* *magis* *si* *me* *illa*
thank- 1Sg. do- 1Sg. Subju.Imperf. more if me-Abl. that

ipsa *quae* *scribis* *aut* *dictas,* *legere*
the actual which write. 2Sg. or say- 2Sg. read-Inf.

voluisses. (Pliny, *Ep*. 9.28.3)
want- 2Sg. Subju.Pluperf.

'Thank you. I would thank you more if you wanted to read for me what you write or say'

(166) *ut* *desinam* *mecum,* *si* *dissenties* *tu...*
so that cease. 1Sg.Subju. with me if disagree-2Sg.Fut. you. 2Sg.Nom.

'So that, I stop, if you disagree' (Pliny, *Ep*. 9.3.3)

We should also note that Pliny finishes all of his letters to his friends with the polite greeting *Vale* 'good-bye', which is occasionally attested in Cicero's letters as well. Looking at the linguistic features used in the letters of Pliny, it seems that Pliny, as a follower of Cicero, had a tendency to use negative politeness strategies.

3.3.3. Politeness Towards Officials

Among Cicero's letters, we also find numerous letters addressing consuls and senators. Cicero himself was a proconsul, and therefore those letters were official letters addressing colleagues. We did not find significant difference in Cicero's language addressing his friends, family or colleagues. As in the previous examples, we find once again polite expressions for advising, requesting and begging, giving deference or praising, etc.

(167) *Maxima* *sum* *laetitia* *affectus,* *cum*
great-Superl.Abl. be- 1Sg. delight.Abl. influenced-Part. with

audivi *te* *consulem* *factum* *esse* , *eumque*
hear- 1Sg.Perf. you consul made-Part. be-Inf. and him

honorem *tibi* *deos* *fortunare* *volo…* (Cic. *Fam*.15.7)
honor you-2Sg.Dat. gods bless-Inf. wish- 1Sg.

'I'm very delighted to hear that you became a consul and I pray that gods bless you, and him (i.e. the father) and his honor'

(168) *De* *mandatis* *quod* *tibi* *curae* *fuit,* *est*
about commissions that you-2Sg.Dat. care-Dat. be. 3Sg. Perf. be. 3Sg.

mihi *gratum.* *Sed* *peto* *a* *te ,* *ut*
me-Dat. grateful But beg-1Sg. from you.2Sg.Abl. that

quam *celerrime* *mihi* *librarius* *mittatur*
as..as possible quick-Superl. me-Dat. copyist send. 3Sg.Subju.Pass.

maxime *quidem* *Graecus...* (Cic. *Fam.* 16.21.8)
great-Superl. indeed Greek

'I am grateful that you took care of the commissions. But, I beg that the best Greek copyist be sent to me (from you) as soon as possible'

Pliny's letters addressing the emperor also represent examples of official letters in the Latin period. While Pliny would mostly give advice and friendly warnings to his friends, in his letters to the emperor Trajan, he uses polite strategies (e.g. requesting, begging, praying to the gods, praising, thanking) by which he could express his humbleness and submission to the emperor. According to Hall (2009), the highly deferential language of Pliny towards the emperor is motivated by their inequality in power: "Pliny's correspondence […] with the emperor Trajan provides of course another case where hierarchical concerns intrude significantly. Here on occasions Pliny leans on certain formulaic phrases; but most striking are his repeated invocations of the emperor's *indulgentia* [indulgence], a feature that highlights the significant shift in power- relations ushered in by the imperial autocracy" (Hall 2009:27). Linguistically, Pliny expresses his respect by using appropriate verbs (e.g. *rogo* 'I ask', *precor* 'I pray'/'I beg', *gratulor* 'I congratulate), adjectives, honorifics, and subordinate clauses including subjunctives.

(169) *Rogo,* *domine,* *consilio* *me* *regas*
ask- 1Sg. master.Voc. plan-Abl. me-Acc. guide- 2Sg.Subju.

haesitantem... (Pliny, *Ep.*10.19.1)
hesitating.Part.

'I ask you, master, to advise me for my uncertain plan'

(170) *Victoriae tuae, optime imperator, maximae,*
victory.Dat your.Dat. good-Superl. emperor great-Superl.

pulcherrimae, antiquissimae et tuo nomine et
fine-Superl. old -Superl. and your.Abl. name.Abl. and

rei publicae gratulor, deosque immortales precor,
state-Gen. congratulate.1Sg**.** gods+and immortals pray- 1Sg.

ut omnes cogitationes tuas tam laetus
that all thoughts-Acc. your-2Pl.Acc. to such a degree joyful-Nom.

sequatur eventus , cum virtutibus tantis
follow- 3Sg.Subju. event.Nom. with virtue-Pl.Abl. so much-Abl.

gloria imperii et novetur et
glory- Nom. empire-Gen. and renew. 3Sg.Subju.Pass. and

augeatur. (Pliny, *Ep*. 10.14)
enlarge- 3Sg.Subju.Pass.

'I congratulate your victory, the best emperor, the finest and oldest, in your name and the name of the State, I pray to the immortal gods that such a joyful event follows all your thoughts and that the glory of the Empire be renewed and enlarged by so much virtues'

The overall examination of official letters written by Cicero and Pliny once again indicates their tendency towards negative politeness strategies**.** However, Hall (2009: 7) believes that the model of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978) cannot be applicable to Cicero's letters because the authors gathered their data from conversational situations, and therefore their model does not represent politeness in formal written texts.

Our Latin data show the association of politeness with friendship rather than social status of the speaker and the addressee, especially in the early periods of Latin. The low number of polite conversations in slave-master relationship supports our claim. We,

however, contend that the lack of high formality or respectful language lies in the characteristic of the texts written by Plautus. Comedies are often written to entertain audiences or to make fun of the real image of society. Therefore, we do not reject the idea that Plautus purposely eliminates deferential conversations either to make fun of the master-slave relationship or to reveal the real intentions of slaves towards their masters. However, politeness is seen when slaves are considered confidants, or close friends who keep the secrets of masters. In these instances, the language between masters and slaves could represent rather the language between two friends. We even attest the expression of politeness by masters towards faithful slaves. It may also be necessary to indicate that the register used between masters and slaves was no different from the register used between two masters. Therefore, we suppose that there was not any intentional change of register in the conversations between masters and slaves.

Centuries later, on the other hand, in letters of Cicero and Pliny, we found an abundance of deferential and formal expressions. The nature of the text and the social background of the speaker (see section 3.2.1) are certainly factors in the degree of formality of the text. The texts written by Plautus are comedies and the texts written by Cicero and Pliny are real letters.

In spite of the difference in the degree of politeness in our Latin data, the politeness strategies used by Latin authors were similar (i.e. requesting, begging, thanking, praising, blessing, greetings, asking permission, indebting and humbling onself, or endearing the addressee). However, our data may not be entirely compatible with the universality theory of politeness. Although we found similarities between linguistic

features and strategies that are suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987), in Latin, the overall strategies of negative politeness were slightly different. The general tendency, in Latin, was to be direct, but to be humble and complimentary.

In Latin, in order to be direct but polite, the speaker could combine imperatives with other polite linguistic devices. For instance, we have observed the combination of imperatives with 'if clauses', with polite expressions (e.g. *please*), or with polite address terms in order to give advice or warning. The combination of imperatives with polite structures or expressions can be found in both positive and negative politeness strategies, depending on the nature of the accompanied polite structures or expressions. In addition, praising and begging, which are among the main strategies in Latin are barely mentioned among negative politeness strategies in the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) and so on. Latin speakers would praise and compliment addressees frequently and remind them of their good qualities. Latin speakers could also show their humbleness by frequent begging. In this case, speakers would show their dependency to addressees. In more formal letters towards officials, we have, of course, found more expressions of humbleness and submission on the part of the speaker.

The Latin strategies discussed above would necessitate the frequent use of descriptive adjectives and especially the possessive adjective *mi*, which are the core of polite linguistic elements in Latin. The fact that we see the frequent use of adjectives with neutral terms in direct address rather than honorific terms or titles tells us that Latin speakers would rely mostly on adjectives even in the usage of terms of address. It may be important to remind the readers that in our Latin data, in contrast to the universality

theory of politeness introduced by Brown and Levinson (1987) (see chapter 2), we have not witnessed a great variety of strategies.

3.4. POLITENESS IN EARLY OLD FRENCH

Early Old French, in its various dialects, was spoken from the 9th to 11th centuries. Only four texts survive from this period: *Les serments de Strasbourg* (842c.), *La séquence de Sainte Eulalie* (the 9th century), *La vie de Saint Léger* (the 10th century), *and La vie de Saint Alexis* (the 11th century). *Les serments de Strasbourg* differs from other texts because not only is it the earliest text written in a Romance language, but it is also an official document, an oath of support sworn by Charles and Louis (two grandsons of Charlemagne) against their oldest brother Lothair in order to formalize the division of the empire of Charlemagne after the defeat of Lothair in 841. In contrast to the '*Serments de Strasbourg*', the three other documents are religious and theological texts.

While we find direct conversations in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, the other texts have no dialogues. Consequently, we do not have access to a large number of polite linguistic means used in direct address. However, the examination of these texts[9], including their limited number of dialogues, can still give us an idea of linguistic politeness in the early periods of French. In contrast to Latin, politeness in Early Old French data was mostly conveyed through lexical terms, yet other linguistic devices (e.g. imperatives) are also seen in a few instances. It is also important to note that the orthography of the same word, which reflects the pronunciation of that period or the pronunciation of a specific region,

[9] The data are gathered from the examination of entire texts.

may vary from century to century. Our stress, however, is on the meaning of the word and not its orthography.

3.4.1. Kinship Terms

In Early Old French data, we observe the use of kinship terms either in direct address or in referential address. The first kinship term *fradre* 'brother' is attested in *Les serments de Strasbourg*. The first part of the oath of Strasbourg was, in fact, read by Charles and Louis, themselves, in front of their troops. The text (see examples below) indicates that Charles and Louis were both present at the moment of the oath and they point to each other while pronouncing the term 'my brother'. Therefore, the term 'my brother' was used by the speakers in referential address with the referent present (i.e. Charles and Louis respectively).

(171) [...] *si* *salvarai* *eo* *cist* *meon* *fradre* *Karlo* *et*
Conj. protect- 1Sg.Fut. I this one my brother Charles and

in *aiudha* *et* *in* *cadhuna* *cosa...* (*Strasbourg*, 842 c.)
in help and in every thing

'I will protect, this, my brother, Charles, with my help for everything'

(172) *et* *ab* *Ludher* *nul* *plaid* *numquam* *prindrai* , qui
and with Lothair nothing agreement never take- 1Sg. Fut. who

meon *vol* *cist* *meon* *fradre* *Karle* *in* *damno*
my wish this my brother Charles in condemnation

sit. (*Strasbourg*, 842 c.)
be-3Sg.Subju.

'And I will never take any agreement with Lothair, who, I wish, to be in condemnation of my brother Charles, here '

(173) *Quotiens Lodharius me et hunc fratrem meum, post obitum*
how often Lothair me.Acc. and this brother my after death

patris nostri insectando usque ad internecionem
father.Gen. our.Gen. pursuit-Ger. all the way toward massacre-Acc.

delere conatus sit, nostis.
destroy-Inf. tried-Part. be- 3Sg.Subju. know.2Pl.Perf.

(*Strasbourg*, 842 c. [Latin])

'You know that Lothair, often, after the death of our father, has tried to destroy me and this brother of mine by pursuing us to massacre us'

Although the term 'brother' or 'my brother' may not carry a polite connotation by itself, it is our belief that the term was intentionally used in *Les serments de Strasbourg* to effectively convey the idea of friendship, brotherhood, and solidarity between two rulers before the troops. As mentioned previously, the term 'my brother' was used to refer to Charles, or Louis, who were present in the pledge ceremony, but not to refer to Lothair, who was absent. Therefore, although the use of the term 'my brother' could be triggered by the presence of the third party, the animosity toward Lothair could also be a factor why the term *fradre* was not used referring to Lothair. In the following example, however, the presence of Charles probably triggers the use of the term *fradre* to refer to him by his troops.

(174) *Si Lodhuvigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat ,*
if Louis serment, that his brother Charles swear- 3Sg.Perf.

conservat… (*Strasbourg*, 842 c.)
keep- 3Sg.Perf.

'If Louis keeps the oath that he swore to his brother Charles'

The term *fradre* has also been attested with similar pattern in the portion of the '*Serments de Strasbourg*' that is in Old High German.

The term 'brother' was later used in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, where there was no biological relation between the speaker and the addressee. In fact, Saint Alexis, in one instance, uses the term *bel frere* 'good brother' addressing his servant. Other phrases used by the speaker (e.g. *ço pri*, *tue mercit*) indicate that the context is a polite context and the term *bel frere* is a respectful term of address. No recurrence of the term, however, has been found in the rest of the text.

(175) *Quer* *mei,* *bel* *frere,* *&* *enca* *e* *parcamin*
find-Imp.2Sg. me beautiful brother and ink and parchment

& *une* *penne,* *ço* *pri,* *tue* *mercit*. (*St. Alexis*, 57)
and a quill pen this beg-1Sg. your-2Sg. mercy

'Find me, brother, ink, parchment and a quill pen. I ask you to find them by your mercy.'

According to Stowell (1908:147-150), the term *beaus frere*, which was used among nobles in the meaning of "my intimate friend", would lose its original meaning, and later, in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, would become a title used to address people of lower rank or servants. Even though *La vie de Saint Alexis* is a text from the 11th century, we contend that the term *bel frere* was already a polite term to address an inferior. The term *frere* is derived from Latin *frāter*, which could be used in the meaning of biological brother but also in the sense of 'friendship' and 'brotherhood' (Ernout &Meillet 1967, s.v. *frāter*). The term was probably used, intentionally, to indicate the brotherhood between Saint Alexis and his servant. It should be remembered that the term 'brother'

was used in both senses in the '*Serments de Strasbourg*'. Consequently, the address term 'brother' in the sense of 'brotherhood'[10] was a deferential address originated in Latin, indicating positive politeness.

Other kinship terms could equally be polite depending on the context. As it is seen in Latin, the parental terms like 'father' and 'mother' were used addressing gods. In Early Old French, on the other hand, kinship terms like *fils* 'son', which is seen in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, could be seen among polite address terms if modified by adjectives (e.g. *cher* 'dear', *bels* 'beautiful') to either endear the speaker to the addressee or describe the good personality of the addressee.

(176) [father to his son]

Ço	*dist*	*li*	*pedres : " Cher*	*filz,*	*cum*	*t*
this	say- 3Sg.Perf.	the	father	dear	son	how	you-2Sg.

ai	*perdut ! "*	(*St. Alexis*, 22)
have- 1Sg.Aux.	lost- Part.	

'The father said: "Dear son, how I lost you!"'

(177) [mother to her son]

[…] *sempres*	*regret* (*et): « Mar*	*te*	*portai*	,	*bels*
[...] always	regret-3Sg.	bad luck	you.2Sg.	carry- 3Sg. Perf.	handsom

filz !	*e*	*de*	*ta*	*medra*	*quer*	*aueies*
son	and	of	your-2Sg.	mother	heart	have- 2Sg.Imperf.

mercit?	(*St. Alexis*, 88)
mercy	

[10] It is interesting to note that because of the use of the term *frater* in the sense of 'brotherhood', *frater* lost its original meaning of 'sibling' in some Romance languages.

'She always regrets: "I carried you with difficulty, dear son, and did you have compassion for your mother's heart?"'

(178) [mother to her son]

[…] *ta* *lasse* *medre* *si* *la* *(re)confortasses,*
your.2Sg. tired mother if her comfort.2Sg.Subju.Imperf.

ki *sist* *dolente* *cher* *fiz,* *bor* *i*
who sit.3Sg.Perf. sad dear son well there

alasses. (*St. Alexis*, 90)
go.2Sg. Subju.Imperf.

'If you comforted your tired mother who was sad, dear son, you would go there happily'

To express the high degree of deference towards the family members, however, the speaker may rely on terms other than kinship terms. For instance, in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, the term *amis* 'friend' or *chers amis* 'dear friend' is used twice by the wife of Saint Alexis addressing her husband.

(179) *Ço* *dist* *la* *spuse:* *"Pechet* *le* *m* *at* *tolut ;*
this say- 3Sg.Perf. the spouse sin him me has-Aux. taken-Part.

e *chers* *amis,* *si* *pou* *uus* *ai* *oüt!*
eh dear friend if little you-2Pl.Obl. have- 1Sg.Aux had-Part.

(*St. Alexis*, 22)

'The spouse said this: "The sin has taken him from me; eh dear friend, I had you for a short time"'

(180) *melz me uenist, amis, que morte*
better to me come-3Sg.Subju.Imperf. friend that dead

fusse. (*St. Alexis*, 97)
be.1Sg. Imperf. Subju.

'Friend, it would be better for me to be dead'

Stowell (1908:29-30), pointing to the examples in *Saint Alexis,* claims that the word *amis* is used in the meaning of 'my dear'. He argues that *amis*, which originally meant 'my friend' could be used in the meaning of 'my love' or 'lover' in intimate relationships. However, *amis* soon became just a term of endearment and shifted its meaning from 'my love' to 'my dear' before the 9th century (Stowell 1908:30). Subsequently, Stowell (1908:34) argues that the term *amis* could be used as a term of endearment among relatives in Early Old French:

> The one man who could be a woman's *amis* was her "lover". Therefore, the word, when used by a woman as a title for a man, shifted to mean "lover". Once used by a woman as a term of endearment for their lovers, it was, as a natural consequence, adopted as a title for husbands. This process of word-shift had already taken place in Latin, where *amica*, when used by a man as a title for a woman, shifted from meaning 'my friend' to meaning 'my love'.
>
> (Stowell 1908:30)

Although we agree that the term *amis* could be used in the sense of 'dear' in the *Saint Alexis*, and that it was used as term of endearment, we do not agree with the explanation of Stowell (1908) pertaining to the historical background of the term *amis*. *Amis* traces back to Latin *amicus*, a substantive, originally an adjective, derived from the Latin verb *amō* 'to love' or 'to like'. *Amor* is also another substantive derived from the verb *amō*, which means 'friendship' and 'love'. Therefore, from the early period of Latin, *amicus/amica* could be used in both meanings of 'friend' or 'lover' depending on the

relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v. *amō*). As a result, there was no shift in the meaning of *amis* from ‘my friend’ to ‘my love’ as it is suggested by Stowell (1908). In either sense, however, by using the term *amis* the speaker would show that the addressee is dear to him/her. We should add that in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, the term *amis* was used to address Saint Alexis, who was not present in the conversation. Whether the absence or presence of the addressee could be a factor in choosing the term *amis* is a question that cannot be answered on the basis of our data. *Mun cher ami* and *mun ami* in the sense of ‘my dear friend’or 'my friend', as referential terms, are also attested when the parents of Saint Alexis refer to their son (*St. Alexis*, 45; 93).

In passing, it is important to note that the second plural pronoun *uus* ‘you’, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, in this context, is the pronoun of respect used to address a single addressee, the husband. The use of the pronoun of respect in addition to the term *chers amis* adds the high degree of politeness to the context (example 179). In the universality theory of politeness, *chers amis* should be used in a positive politeness strategy while *uus* is an honorific address used for negative politeness.

As Brown and Levinson (1987) claim, the “mixture of strategies” is probable: “The mixture of elements deriving from positive- and negative- politeness strategies in a given utterance may simply produce a kind of hybrid strategy somewhere in between the two […].But there are other uses of strategy mixtures that don’t hybridize, but rather move the speaker and addressee back and forth between approaching and distancing in their interaction” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 230-231). The authors, however, do not

talk about the frequency of this phenomenon, and therefore, it is not clear whether the "mixture of strategies" is a routine tactic of politeness. Further examples in our data indicate that linguistic devices of positive and negative politeness could easily co-occur in Medieval French.

The honorific term *dama* 'lady' is also found among relatives, when the wife of Saint Alexis addresses her mother-in-law.

(181) *Dama, dist ele, io i ai si grant perte !*
lady say-3Sg.Perf. she I there have-1Sg. so much loss

ore uiurai an guise de turtrele:
now live-1Sg.Fut. in way of turtledove

quant n ai tun filz,
since not have-1Sg. your-2Sg. son

ansemble ot tei uoil estra. (*St. Alexis*, 30)
together with you-2Sg. want- 1Sg. be.Inf.

'Lady, she said, I lost so much! Now, I will live like a turtledove. Since I don't have your son, I want to stay with you'

According to Stowell (1908:114), *dame* was a title for any authoritarian female figure: "In the earliest Old French, dame signified 'she who has authority' and was employed as a designation for a queen only. On the introduction of the feudal system, its use was extended to designate the wife of any feudal seigneur who had authority over persons or property." Following this assumption, Stowell (1908) argues that "mothers" and "mothers-in-law" would be addressed by the term *dame* by nobles of the 11th century to the first half of the 14th centuries. *Dame* was used in the relation between mothers and children who would see their mothers as persons standing to them (Stowell 1908: 119-

120). Yet, later, because of its frequent misuse, *dame* became a general term of address for noble women with or without authority (Stowell 1908:116-117). The fact that the term *dame* was a title for authoritarian females or a term for nobility is not surprising if we look at its etymology. *Dame* traces back to Latin *domina* 'mistress', 'mistress of a household', and therefore could be a title for any female with the authority over others. Stowell (1908) actually points to a single factor, 'power'. In other terms, *dame* was either a term for women with authority or it was a term for noble women, who belonged to upper class and powerful society. Consequently, the term *dame* was associated with power. In this respect, the wife of Saint Alexis could address her mother-in-law with the term *dame* because she was the mistress of the house and she controlled other members of the family, or because she was the wife of a count and therefore she belonged to the nobility. However, reaching a firm conclusion may never be possible.

The word *pulcela* 'young or virgin girl', which is attested in non- direct communication in the text the '*Séquence de Sainte Eulalie*', is found in direct address for the first time, in one instance, in *La vie de Saint Alexis* as a term of address for a young girl.

(182) [Saint Alexis to his wife]

Oz	*mei,*	*pulcele?*	*Celui*	*tien*	*ad*	*espus…*
hear-2Sg.	me	young girl?	this one	take- 2Sg.Imp.	to	spouse

(*St. Alexis*, 14)

'Do you hear me, young girl? Take this man as your spouse '

According to Stowell (1908:187), the Old French *pulcela* or *pucele*, as a general term for any young and unmarried girl, was used by people of upper class society.

Apart from kinship terms that occasionally were used to express respect, honorifics and titles emerged as crucial elements of politeness in the old and hierarchical societies.

3.4.2. Honorific Terms

The honorific[11] title 'lord', which was expressed by different words in Early Old French (e.g. *sendra*, *seinor*, *dom* or *damne*, *danz,* etc.) was a title frequently seen in Old French texts showing the high degree of politeness towards authoritarian addressees. The first appearance of the title *sendra* 'lord' (i.e. *seigneur* in Modern French) occurs in the very first French text, *Les serments de Strasbourg.*

(183) *Si Lodhuvigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat,*
if Louis serment, that his brother Charles swear. 3Sg.Perf.

conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de sue part lo suon
keep.3Sg. Perf. and Chalre my lord from his part Art. his

fraint si io returnar non l' int pois, ne io
break. 3Sg. and I return-Inf. not him of that can- 1Sg. not I

ne neüls , cui eo returnar int pois,
not person that I turn away-Inf. of that can-1Sg.

in nulla aiudha contra Ludhuwing nun li iu er.
in any help against Louis not (to) him there be.1Sg.Fut.

(*Strasbourg*, 842 c.)

'If Louis keeps the oath that he swore to his brother Charles and if Charles, my lord, on his part, breaks his oath and if I or anybody else cannot divert him, I will not help him'

[11] Honorifics, features of negative politeness strategy (see Brown and Levinson 1987), are terms of address conveying great deference and respect towards the addressee.

That the title *sendra* 'lord' was used by the troops to refer to their ruler, indicates that it was a title for the referent who had power and authority. The term *seinur* 'lord' later found in *La vie de Saint Alexis* as a deferential title for prominent people of that period. In example (184), the mother of Saint Alexis, herself from upper class society, addresses other privileged people (e.g. the pope, the emperors, etc.) by the term 'lords'. Example (185), on the other hand, illustrates the conversation among powerful people belonging to similar social class who use 'lord' to address each other. We also observe instances of the title *seinor* 'lord' (example 186) referring to God.

(184) *Seinurs de Rome, pur amur Deu, mercit !*
lords of Rome for love of God mercy

aidiez m[ei] a plaindra le duel de mun ami...
help- 2Pl.Imp. me to lament-Inf. the mourning of my friend

(*St. Alexis*, 93)

'Lords of Rome (e.g. the pope, the emperors), for the love of God, have mercy! Help me to mourn for my friend'

(185) *Cil an respondent, ki l ampirie bailissent.*
those from there respond. 3Pl. who the empire govern-3Pl.

" *Mercit, seinurs, nus an querreuns mecine ...*" (*St. Alexis*, 105)
mercy, lords we for it find- 1Pl. remedy

'Those who govern the empire respond: "For heaven's sake, lords, we should find a remedy for it"'

(186) *Il nos aiud ob ciel Seinor*
he us help- 3Sg.Subju. with this Seigneur

Por cui sustinc tels passïons!
for whom tolerate- 3Sg.Perf. such pain

(*St. Léger*, 40. 239-240)

'May he help us with the Lord for whom he tolerated such pain!'

Similar to the title *seinor*, the title *sire* 'lord', which is attested in six instances of direct address in *La vie de Saint Alexis,* was a deferential title used for individuals with authority, who were either rulers or deciders. However, its referential form *seinor* is not widely attested in conversational passages. In the examples found in the text, the term *sire* was used to indicate the master of the household. Example (187) illustrates the use of the term *sire* to address the father of Saint Alexis by his servant. In example (188), once again, we see the use of *sire* addressing the husband in his absence.

(187) *Li boens serganz kil serueit uolentiers,*
the good servant who serve- 3Sg.Imperf. willingly

il le nunçat sum Pedre […]
he that announ-3Sg.Perf. his father […]

"*Sire, dist- il, morz est tes prouenders*…"
lord say-3Sg.Perf. he dead is your-2Sg. beggar

(*St. Alexis*, 68)

'The good servant who was working willingly said to his father: "Lord, the person that you were nourishing is dead"'

(188) *Sire, dist ela, cum longa demure[r]e*
lord say- 3Sg.Perf. she how long wait

ai atendude an la maisun tun pedra,
have- 1Sg. waited-Part. in the house your.2Sg. father

ou tum laisas dolente & esguarede.
where you me leave- 2Sg.Perf. sad and lost

(*St.Alexis*, 94)

'Sire, she said, how long I have waited in your father's house where you left me sad and lost'

The nominative *Sire* traces back to Latin oblique *senior*, a comparative form of the adjective *senex* 'old' (Lat. *senior*> Lat. pop. [popular] *seior*> *sieire*> *sire*) (Meunier 1933:413-414). Meunier (1933:413) argues that Latin *senior*, towards the end of the Roman empire, started to be used as a respectful term for powerful people, in contrast to *senior*, that could be used in both direct and referential address, its derivation *sire* was only seen in direct address: "Le mot *sire* a encore conservé sa valeur de vocatif. On l'emploie dans une appellation, quand on s'adresse à un prince. Mais on ne dirait pas je vais chez le Sire, mais chez le prince, le roi." (Meunier 1933 :414). In our data, we, similarly, find *sire* as a direct address while *senior/ seinurs* is seen in both direct and referential address because the real difference between the term *sire* and *seinor* is a difference between the nominative and oblique case. *Seinor/ seignor*, in fact, would occur in the oblique case (singular and plural) and the nominative plural case, while *sire* was only the form for the nominative singular.

We previously noted that honorific terms (e.g. *dame*, *sire*) could be used for a member of the family (e.g. mother-in-law, husband) who had control over other members. This pattern has also been attested in other old languages. In the examination of terms of address from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries of English, Nevala (2003:149) points to the absolute power and control of father and husband over other members of the family: "Men were primarily obligated to their families, and their authority as rulers over their wives and children originated from the Bible. This was further reinforced by the common law of England which emphasised the husband's power and authority." Nevala (2003:152) subsequently adds that the more powerful members of the family (i.e. "husbands and parents") would likely use positive politeness towards the less powerful members of their family (i.e. "wives and children"), while negative politeness would be the preferred strategy by the inferiors and less powerful members towards the superiors and more powerful members. There could, therefore, be a universal tendency to use honorifics and negative politeness towards powerful individuals even in the family circle.

The link between power and honorifics is also confirmed by Stowell (1908) in Old French. As we discussed earlier, Stowell (1908) draws a relation between power and the honorific *dame*. Similarly, he argues that *sire* originally was a term for powerful individuals.

> In the earliest Old French, the "normal" meaning of *sire* was 'he who has authority', and the word was used as a designation for God, as having authority over the universe; for the emperor, king and feudal seigneurs, as possessing authority over the country; and for husbands, lovers and fathers, as having authority over their wives, sweethearts and children. Throughout the entire Old-French period, and in all sections of the territory, *sire* in the "normal" meaning was used as a title in direct address for the above-mentioned personages.
> (Stowell 1908:191-192)

Consequently, an Early Old French speaker would prefer a negative politeness strategy addressing prominent and powerful individuals.

Another title meaning 'lord', *dom, domne, dam, damne, danz,* from Latin *dominus/dominum* 'master', was frequently used in indirect communication or as a title for God. Unlike previous titles meaning 'lord', this title was in all instances accompanied by other lexical terms including names. This title is a proclitic and, therefore, it cannot stand alone (see Meunier 1933: 321-322).

(189) *Ad* *Ostedun,* *a* *cilla* *ciu,*
in fall Prep. this town

Dom *sanct* *Lethgier* *vai* *asalir.* (*St. Léger*, 24.139-140)
lord holy Léger go.3Sg.Aux. attack.Inf.

'In fall, this town is going to attack the holy lord Léger'

(190) *L'* *anima* *reciut* *Domine* *Deus...* (*St. Léger*, 40.237)
the spirit receive-3Sg.Perf. Lord God

'The Lord God received the spirit'

(191) *penat* *sun* *cors* *el* *damne* *Deu* *seruice...*
distress. 3Sg.Perf. his body in the lord God service

(*St. Alexis*, 33)

'He made his body suffer in the service of the Lord'

(192) [...] *ent(re)* *les* *poures* *se* *sist* *danz* *Alexis...*
[...] among the poor people Refl. sit down. 3Sg.Perf. lord Alexis

(*St. Alexis*, 20)

'Lord Alexis sat down among the poor people'

The title *rex* or *reis* 'king' is also attested for the first time in the 9th century in *La séquence de Sainte Eulalie*. However, as a polite title in direct address, it is only attested in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, when the speaker addresses God.

(193) *E!* *reis* *celeste,* *tu* *nus* *i* *fai* *uenir.*
Eh king heavenly you.2Sg. us there make-2Sg. come-Inf.

(*St. Alexis*, 67)

'Eh! Heavenly king, let us come to you'

In addition to titles, similar to Latin, in Early Old French, descriptive adjectives could also be used to modify lexical terms and make them polite address or referential terms (see also section 3.2.1.5).

(194) [...] *tut* *te* *durai* , *boens* *hom,* *quanq(ue)* *m*
all you-2Sg. give- 1Sg.Fut. good man as much as me

as *quis...* *(St Alexis*, 45)
have- 2Sg.Aux. requested.Part.

'I will give you, good man, as much as, you request'

So far, we have discussed lexical terms pertaining to politeness in direct or referential address. Verbs could play a role in a polite discourse, as we discuss in the following section.

3.4.3. Imperatives

The imperative was a vehicle to express the speaker's need and to ask for pity. For instance, in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, we observe the use of imperatives by the speaker to actually beg the addressee rather than to utter an order. The imperative, however, in a polite context, always occurred in combination with other polite devices (e.g. titles, polite adjectives, etc.).

(195) [son to father]

Eufem(i)iens, bel sire, riches hom,
Euphemien good lord rich man

quar me herberges pur Deu an tue maison :
Conj. me put up. 2Sg. for God in your-2Sg. house

suz tun degret me fai un grabatum
under your-2Sg. stairway me make- 2Sg.Imp. a small bed

empur tun filz dunt tu as tel dolur ;
for your-2Sg. son for whom you.2Sg. have- 2Sg. such pain

tut soi amferm, sim pais pur
completely be- 1Sg.Subju. disabled if me nourish- 2Sg.Imp. for

sue amor. (*St. Alexis*, 44)
his love

'Euphemien, good lord, rich man, thus put me up in your home for God: under your stairway make a bed for me for the love of your son, for whom you are very sad; I'm completely disabled, and in this way nourish me for his love'

(196) [emperors to Saint Alexis]

[...] *dune li la [cartre] par (la) tue mercit...*
give- 2Sg.Imp. (to) him that [letter] by (Art.) your.2Sg. pity

(*St. Alexis*, 74)

'Give him that letter out of your pity'

The way the speaker makes his request in a polite context should be noted. In a process similar to that found in Latin, for example, we observe the buildup of several linguistic structures and strategies to make a request, using the imperative (see example 195). First, the speaker uses the addressee's first name, which could indicate that the speaker does not see the addressee as a stranger. Then, the speaker, using adjectives, compliments the addressee by mentioning two important qualities of the addressee. The speaker also reminds the addressee of his son and emotionally motivates the addressee to respond to his request. The addition of other polite expressions to the context helps the speaker to use negative politeness strategies despite the use of imperatives.

In sum, a few texts that remain from early periods of French, including passages of few representations of direct conversations, show us that politeness in that early period could be expressed by giving deference (i.e. using honorifics, polite address terms and polite adjectives accompanying lexical terms), and by devices such as begging or praising the addressee. What is however striking in Old French texts is the preservation of Latin strategies (i.e. begging and praising) and Latin lexical meaning (e.g. *amicus/amica, domine/domina, puella*). Moreover, our data indicate that Early Old French strategies of politeness, like Latin strategies, do not perfectly fit into the universality theory of politeness (see Brown and Levinson 1987).

The main strategies of Early Old French are not categorized as prominent strategies in the theory of universality of politeness. In addition, like their ancestors, Early Old French speakers had a desire to be direct and avoid conveying their message indirectly that forces them to use imperatives even for making a request. Yet, according

to the theory of universality of politeness (see Brown and Levinson 1987), indirectness seems to be a preferred strategy, especially for making a request or giving advice. The use of both positive and negative politeness in a single context, which has been similarly attested in Latin, may also be an indication of the absence of a linguistic system based on distinct strategies of politeness.

3.5. POLITENESS IN OLD FRENCH

During the 12th and the 13th centuries, French literature started to blossom and left us with plenty of different types of texts (e.g. epic poems, lyrical poems, fabliaux, dramatic texts, etc), mostly in verse. Although many of these texts were fictional, according to Dupin (1906:6-7), they were still inspired by reality and influenced society. We should therefore consider these texts as an image of the Old French society that gives us clues on the linguistic politeness of the period. For Dupin (1906), the concept of politeness in the Middle Ages was not quite similar to that of today. *Courtoisie* or politeness, which was a characteristic of *courtois* or educated people from the upper classes of society, was conveyed through moral obligations like greetings, loyalty, fidelity, honesty, hospitality, goodness, having pity, being pleasant, generous and happy, etc (Dupin 1906:127-128). Yet, as Dupin (1906) states, politeness is a very complex topic that may not easily fit a single definition.

In this section, we will examine polite linguistic features and polite strategies in various texts written in the 12th and 13th centuries. Although we rely on existing Old French texts to study politeness, it should be remembered that most of the texts written in

Old French are in verse, which may have affected the language used. For reasons of rhythm or rime, the language of poems may differ from the language of daily conversations. Yet, as mentioned previously, due to the limited number of available texts from early times, we have no choice but to focus on poems in our study. In addition, we have attempted to choose sections that could represent the use of the language in various social relations.

We have gathered our data from five different kinds of texts. We have chosen one *chansons de geste*. *Chansons de geste* 'songs of action' or epic poems, mostly composed by anonymous authors, were inspired by stories of war. One of the well known and the earliest *chansons de geste* is *La chanson de Roland* 'the Song of Roland', which was written in the beginning of the 12th century in the Anglo-Normand dialect. *La chanson de Roland* relates to the battle of Roncevaux that took place in August 778 between King Charles or Charlemagne and the *Wascones* (i.e. the Basques or the Gascons). The army of Charlemagne was defeated and, Roland, one of the leaders of Charlemagne's army, who was in charge of the rearguard, was killed. Although in the battle of Roncevaux, the Saracens of Spain were allies of Charlemange, *La chanson de Roland* is about a fictional war between Charlemagne and the Saracens of Spain (See Alpland 1979:36-38, see also Bedier 1927). In the poem, Roland is depicted as a nephew of Charlemagne, who gets ambushed and killed by Saracens because of the betrayal of one of Charlemagne's men (Roland's stepfather). We are not, of course, attempting to analyze the story of the text or its historical or ideological background. In fact, we will only focus on linguistic devices used towards friends, superiors or even enemies. For the

sake of this study, we examined verses 1 to 1015 and 1017 to 1395. In those passages, we read about the assembly of Marsile, the king of Saracens, and his barons, the assembly of Charlemagne and his barons, the meeting between the envoy Ganelon and Marsile, and the battle of Roncevaux.

In order to study linguistic politeness in various relationships, we also chose four other texts: *Le Fresne, Yvain ou le chevalier au lion, Le roman de Renard* and *C'est li testament de l'asne. Le Fresne* is written in the 12th century in the Anglo-Normand dialect by Marie de France who was known for writing short narrative poems, namely *les lais. Le Fresne* 'the Ash Tree', which is set in Brittany, is both entertaining and educational. It is a story of a girl abandoned at birth by her mother. The mother later finds her daughter and regrets deeply her action. Examination of the entire text helped us to analyze terms and expressions used among strangers as well as relatives. *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* is written by Chrétien de Troyes, a well-known author of the *romans courtois* in the 12thcentury. The *romans courtois* illustrate the heroic adventures of characters, who are at the service of noble women. The *romans courtois*, without a doubt, inform us about the polite language addressing women in early times. The stories written by Chrétien de Troyes are mostly about the adventures that happen in the court of King Arthur of Britain. Similar to Marie de France, Chrétien de Troyes was not unfamiliar with the aristocracy. He was acquainted with the court of Champagne, and most of his works were written by the request of the court. Heroism and politeness were in fact fundamental features of the *literature courtoise* or *romans courtois* that were written intentionally addressing the people of the court and aristocrats. In *Yvain ou le*

chevalier au lion, Chrétien de Troyes writes about the adventures of the knight Yvain and his relation with his wife, a queen. Our data cover verses 1 through 2580, where we learn about the assembly of knights in the court of King Arthur, the meeting of Yvain with the queen and their engagement, as well as the departure of Yvain with King Arthur.

We also included the *fabliaux* in our data. The *fabliaux,* written also in verse, are satirical stories with moral lessons. Writers of *fabliaux* mostly criticize life in real society. One of the famous fabliaux of the Old French period is *Le roman de Renart* 'The Tale of the Fox', which is composed of various poems written by several authors, mostly anonymous, in the 12th and the 13th centuries. The characters in *Le roman de Renart* are animals that act like humans and their relationship is determined by power, friendship, or animosity. We have examined approximately 3612 verses, which are divided into various sections. In those sections, we read about the adventures of *Renart* with the wolf (his uncle), his insincere behavior towards other animals, and his appearance in the court of the lion, the king. In addition to the' *Roman de Renart*', we also examined *C'est li testament de l'asne* 'The Will of the Donkey' entirely, which is a short *fabliau* written in the 13th century by Rutebeuf. *Li testament de l'asne* is a story about a priest who buries his beloved donkey in a cemetery of common people. His confrontation and conversations with the bishop allow us to examine the language of ordinary people of that period.

We have divided our data into three categories: titles, honorific address terms, and polite expressions.

3.5.1. Titles

Titles are mostly attested in *La chanson de Roland*. Titles are one of the prominent features of politeness, indicating the social status of the addressee or the referent. The titles *emperere* 'emperor' or *reis* 'king' could, in fact, be either a sign of politeness, especially in direct address, or a reminder of the powerful position of the ruler. For instance, the title 'emperor', instead of 'king', for Charlemagne would refer to his victories and his power over the empire that he had built.

(197) [Charlemange to his warriors]

Li	*reis*	*Marsilies*	*m'*	*ad*	*tramis*	*ses*
the	king	Marsile	me	have- 3Sg.Aux.	sent-Part.	his

messages... (*Rol.*, 13.181)
messengers

'The king Marsile sent me his messengers'

(198) [Ganelon (the messenger of Charlemagne) to King Marsile]

Tant	*vus*	*avrai*	*en*	*curt*	*à*	*rei*		
as long as	you-2Pl.Obl.	have-1Sg. Fut.Aux.	in	court	to	king		
portée, |	*Ja*	*ne*	*l'*	*dirat*	*de*	*France*		
carried.Part.	Jamais	not	that	say-3Sg.Fut.	of	France		
l'	*Emperere* |	*Que*	*jo*	*suls*	*moerge*	*en*		
the	emperor	that	I	alone	die- 1Sg.Subju.	in		
l'	*estrange*	*cuntrée...*	(*Rol.,* 37.446-448)					
the	strange	country						

'As long as I bring you to the king, in the court, the emperor of France will never say that I died alone in a foreign country'

(199) [Ganelon (one of the Charlemagne's barons) to Charlemagne]

Dreiz	*Emperere,*	*ci*	*m'*	*veez*	*en*	*present,*
fair	emperor	here	me	see. 2Pl.	Adv. Loc.	

Ademplir	*voeill*	*vostre*	*cumandement.*	(*Rol.*, 25.329-330)
fulfill- Inf.	want- 1Sg.	your.2Pl.	command	

'Fair emperor, you see me, here, present. I want to fulfill your command'

As it is shown in the above examples, both titles could be used in direct address and referential address (25 inst. of *reis*, 10 inst. of *emperere*)[12]. Yet, the alternation between titles and first names can be found in referential address when the third party is not present at the moment of the conversation. For instance, we observe the alternation between *Carles* and *li reis* 'the king' (referring to Charlemagne) while Blancandrin (one of the barons of the king Marsile) talks to King Marsile in the absence of Charlemagne:

(200) *Carles*	*serat*	*ad*	*Ais,*	*a*	*sa*	*capele…*	(*Rol.*, 4:52)
Charles	be- 3Sg. Fut.	at	Aix	at	his	chapel	

'Charles will be at Aix, at his chapel'

(201) *Li*	*Reis*	*est*	*fiers,*	*e*	*sis*	*curages*	*pesmes:*
the	king	be- 3Sg.	proud	and	his	heart	cruel

[12] The numbers show the approximate number of instances that the term has been attested in both direct and referential address in conversational passages. The numerical data will also include instances that the term occurred in combination with other terms or adjectives.

De	*noz*	*ostages*	*ferat*	*trenchier*	*les*	*testes...*
from	our	hostages	do- 3Sg.Fut.	cut.Inf.	the	heads

(*Rol.*, 4:56-57)

'The king is proud, and his heart is cruel. He will cut off the heads of our hostages'

The title *li rois* 'the king' was, of course, a title frequently used in early periods of French when the political system was based on a monarchy (see also *Yvain* 2372-2373, *Renart* 9. 54). The high-ranking position could also be occupied by women. For instance, the title *l'empererriz* 'the empress' is another title attested in *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* when knights and soldiers praise their ruler and applaud her decision in her presence (example [202]). The title 'empress' was metaphorically used only once, and it was replaced by the term *dame* 'lady' in other instances. It is our belief that the title 'empress' was used to emphasize the power and the authority of the queen. Therefore, as mentioned previously, titles were, mostly, indicators of the political power of the addressees. We should remember that power was a triggering factor for negative politeness in that period.

(202)

C'	*est*	*cil*	*qui*	*ma*	*dame*	*prendra*
this	be-3Sg.	one	who	my	lady	take- 3Sg.Fut.

[…]

Certes,	*l'*	*empererriz*	*de*	*Rome*
certainly	the	empress	of	Rome

Seroit	*an*	*lui*	*bien*	*marïee.*
be- 3Sg.Cond.	Prep.	him	good	bride

(*Yvain*, 2063; 2066-2067)

'Here is the one with whom my lady will marry […] The empress of Rome would be certainly a good bride for him'

Nouns such as *barun or ber* ‘baron’ ‘a noble man’, ‘a brave warrior’ (7 inst.), *quens* or *cunte* ‘count’, ‘military chief’(4 inst.), *dux* ‘duke’, ‘chief of war’(3 inst.), or *chevalier* ‘knight’ (1 inst.) are other titles employed in *La chanson de Roland* to express deference by indicating the prestigious social status of addressees or referents. In this respect, titles can be categorized as “occupational terms” (see Braun 1988:10).

(203) [conversation between Blancandrin (a warrior of Marsile) and Ganelon (a warrior of Charlemagne)]

Dist	*Blancandrins :*	*« Franc*	*sunt*	*mult*	*gentil*	*hume.*
say- 3Sg.Perf.	Blancandrin	Franks	be- 3Pl.	very	noble	men

Mult	*grant*	*mal*	*funt*	*e*	*cil*	*duc*	*e*	*cil*	*cunte*
very	big	pain	do-3Sg.	Conj.	these	dukes	and	these	comtes

A	*lur*	*seignur,*	*ki*	*tel*	*cunseill*	*li*	*dunent...*
to	their	lord	who	such	advice	lui	give-3Pl.

(*Rol.,* 31.377-379)

‘Blancandrin said: “The Franks are true noble men, but these dukes and counts hurt their lord by giving him such advice”’

(204) [knights to Ganelon (one of the barons of Charlemagne)]

[...] *Tant*	*mare*	*fustes,*	*ber!...*	(*Rol.,* 29. 350)
so much	misfortune	be- 2Pl.Perf.	baron	

‘baron! You had bad luck!’

As mentioned earlier, even though these titles belonged to nobles, they would still indicate the difference in rank. For instance, while the title ‘baron’ would designate “a noble of high rank” (i.e. “a man, who would naturally occupy a high place among the *élite* of the nation” [Stowell 1908:66]), the title ‘knight’ would designate “nobles of low

rank" (Stowell 1908: 65-67). Yet, both 'baron' and 'knight' were titles for 'a noble warrior' (see Stowell 1908). According to Stowell (1908), *chevaliers* was originally a general term for nobility; therefore, all members of upper class society could be addressed as *chevaliers*. However, a need to distinguish the people of higher ranks from those of lower ranks resulted in the shift in the meaning of *chevaliers*, where *chevaliers* became a term for the nobility of lower ranks (Stowell 1908:86-89).

(205) [Charles to a knight]

"*Franc*	*chevalier,"*	*dist*		*l '*	*emperere*	*Charles,*	
noble	knights	say-	3Sg.Perf.	the	emperor	Charles	
" Kar	*m'*	*eslisez*	*un*	*barun*	*de*	*ma*	*marche …* "
Conj.	for me	choose-2Pl.	a	baron	of	my	country

(*Rol.*, 10. 274-275)

'Charles said: "noble knights, choose a baron of my country for me"'

The use of such titles that belonged to the nobility and high ranking members of society, without a doubt, could reveal the social background of the speaker and the addressee (see Braun 1988). It should also be mentioned that, in many instances, titles could be accompanied by the first name of addressees or referents.

As expected, the term *li chevalier* is found more frequently in the text *Le chevalier au lion* (8 inst.). Additionally, in *Le chevalier au lion*, the term *chevalier* was replaced by the term *vassax* in several instances (3 inst.).

(206) [conversation between two knights]

Me *comanca* *a* *desfier,*
me start- 3Sg.Perf. to defy

Et *dist:* *“* *Vassax,* *mout* *m’* *avez* *fet,*
and say- 3Sg.Perf. knight much me have- 2Pl.Aux. made. Part.

Sanz *desfiance,* *honte* *et* *let...*” (*Yvain*, 488-490)
without challenge shame and outraged

‘He started to defy me, and said: “Knight, you made me very shameful and outraged by not challenging me... ”

While the term *vassax* or *vassal* (< Lat. *vassallu*< *vassus* ‘servant’) was used in Old French, to address or refer to a noble warrior, the term *li vavassors* (< Lat. *vassus* ‘servant’) attested in *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, would refer to ‘a vassal’.

It is also worth pointing to the shift in the meaning of some of these titles from Latin to Old French. In *ber* (nominative singular), or *barun* (oblique case or nominative plural case), we see a drastic change of meaning, when a pejorative connotation is replaced by a positive and dignifying one. *Ber/barun* ‘a brave warrior’ traces back to Latin *bārō* which would signify ‘a fool’ (see Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v. *bārō*). The shift of the meaning, however, may not be significant in *chevalier*. *Chevalier* is derived from Latin *caballirus*< *caballus* meaning ‘horse’, ‘work horse’ (see Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v. *caballus*). According to Stowell (1908), in the early Middle Ages, *chevalier* was an indication for “armed horseman”, the notion of *chevalier* then shifted to “a member of the warrior class”, “a noble”, who would show “bravery , family honor and fidelity to king and *compagnon*” in the ‘*Chanson de Roland* ’(1908:79-81). *Quens* or *cuntes,* on the

other hand, is derived from Latin *comes* meaning 'companion', especially 'companion of high ranking people' (see Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v.*comes*).

In addition to titles for nobles and high ranking people, other titles like *mestre* 'teacher', 'doctor', 'professional master' (< Lat. *magister* 'teacher'), which was a title for knowledgeable and educated people, is attested in rare instances (*Renart*, 9.544). In the examination of the Old French text *Le jeu de la feuillée*, Foulet (1950) similarly observes the use of *maître* for professions (i.e. clergy, student, physician, lawyer, secretary…) that would require certain knowledge or education (Foulet 1950: 210-211).

3.5.2. Honorific Terms of Address

Old French speakers could also express their politeness by relying on polite address or referential terms other than titles or occupational terms. In this section, therefore, we present lexical items that repeatedly occur in polite contexts. As we see in the following examples, by using these terms, speakers try to respect the formality of the contexts, which leads them to carry out a negative politeness strategy (see chapter 2).

3.5.2.1. Sire, Seignor

The term *sir* or *seignur*, meaning 'lord', was used as a deferential term since Early Old French. The term 'lord' in the form of *seinor* was first attested in the '*Serments de Strasbourg*' referring to rulers. Later, in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, we found the use of *sir/seingor(s)* as a term of address for 'master', 'husband', or 'high ranking and prominent people of the society' (see section 3.4.2.). Although the term *sire* existed since the 9th century, its usage, especially in direct address, increases in the 12th and the 13th

centuries. *Sire* continued to be used as a highly deferential term throughout the Old French period and appeared under two different forms of *sire* and *seignor* in the texts. As discussed earlier, the form *sire* was used to address a single hearer in nominative and vocative cases, while *seignor(s)* was reserved for nominative or vocative cases in plural and for oblique cases. The term *sire* / *seignor*, however, has not been attested with similar frequency across the texts: *La chanson de Roland* (40 inst.), *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* (19 inst.), *Le roman de Renart* (43 inst.), *Le Fresne* (4 inst.), *Li testament de l'asne* (4 inst.). The distribution of this honorific depends on the length of the text, the length of the examined passages, the length of conversational sections, and the presence or absence of male addressees. Yet, the numerical data point to the emergence of *sire* as a highly deferential honorific regardless of the type of the text, or the dialect in which the text is written.

In the 12th and the 13th centuries, *sire*, following the same pattern as in the previous centuries, was used in addressing superiors and powerful individuals. The following examples show the use of this term in polite contexts when speakers talk to addressees of higher social class or high ranking positions.

(207) [Ganelon (one of the barons of Charlemagne) to Charlemagne]

"*Sire",*	*dist*	*Guenes,*	*"dunez*	*mei*	*le*
lord	say- 3Sg.Perf.	Ganelon	give- 2Pl.Imp.	to me	the

cungiet…" (*Rol.*, 28.337)
leave

'Ganelon said: "Lord, give me a leave"'

(208) [two warriors of Marsile to the king Marsile]

E *cil* *respundent:* *" Sire,* *a* *vostre* *cumant…"*
and those respond-3Pl. lord at your-2Pl. command

(*Rol.*, 82.946)

'And they respond: "Lord, at your command!"'

(209) [squire to his master, a knight]

Sire, *fet* *il,* *or* *aiez* *pes...* (*Yvain*, 742)
lord say-3Sg. he now have-2Pl. peace

'Lord, do not worry! He says.'

(210) [the knight Yvain to the king Arthur]

Si *li* *dist:* *" Sire,* *feites* *prendre*
Conj to him say- 3Sg.Perf. lord make-2Pl. take-Inf.

Ce *cheval,* *que* *je* *mesferoie*
this horse that I make a mistake- 1Sg.Cond.

Se *rien* *del* *vostre* *detenoie*. " (*Yvain*, 2274-2276)
if anything of the your-2Pl. hold- 1Sg.Imperf.

'He said: "Lord, order to take this horse because I make a mistake if I keep any of your belongings"'

However, outside aristocratic society, *sire* could have other functions. In *Le roman de Renart*, although the term *sire* is used to address powerful animals like lion, the king of beasts (*Renart*, 9.73,94,129,136,140, etc), it is also a flattering title. When one animal wants to take advantage from the other or from the situation, it switches its neutral language to a polite or rather a flattering language. Instances of *sire* as a flattering title can, for instance, be found in the conversations between *Renart* and *Tibert*, the cat, as each tries to be in charge of the situation (*Renart*, 5.466; 5.851). In *Li testament de*

L'asne, sire is just a title of respect as the priest and the bishop address each other with the title *sire* (*T.d.A.* 107). In addition, like previous centuries, the term *sire* continues to be a term of address for God (*Fres.*162-163).

(211) [bishop to priest]

Sire,	*consoil*	*oi*	*ge*	*sens*	*faille...*	(*T.d.A.*, 133)
Lord	decision	have-1Sg.Perf.	I	without	mistake	

'Lord, I have reached the right decision'

As mentioned previously, Stowell (1908:191-192) claims that from Early Old French on *sire* was a form used to address those who had authority over speakers, including husbands. In the data from *La vie de Saint Alexis* (see previous section), we saw that the wife of Saint Alexis in a few instances addressed his husband by the term *sire*. Likewise, in the data from *Le Fresne* and *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, the term *sire*/ *seignor* is found as a term for husband.

(212)

Sire,	*quant*	*pardoné*	*l'*	*avez,*
lord	when	pardoned-Part.	that	have-2Pl.Aux.

Jel	*vus*	*dirai ;*	*si*	*m'*	*escutez.*	(*Fres.*, 465-466)
I that	you.2Pl.Obl.	tell- 1Sg.Fut.	if	to me	listen-2Pl.	

'Lord, since you have forgiven (me), I will tell you if you listen to me'

(213)

Ha !	*Dex,*	*don*	*ne*	*trovera*	*l'*	*an*	
Interj.	God	so	not	find- 3Sg.Fut.	Art.	Indef.Pron.	

L'	*omecide,*	*le*	*traïtor, |*	*Qui*	*m'*	*a*	*ocis*	
the	criminal	the	traitor	who	me	have-3Sg.	killed.Part.	

mon	*boen*	*seignor ?*	(*Yvain*, 1204-1206)
my	good	lord	

'Ah! God, won't we find the criminal and the traitor who killed my good lord (husband)?'

Although we may follow Stowell (1908) and accept that the term *sire/seignor* was an address term for 'husband' who was seen as the authoritarian person in a matrimonial relationship, the term *sire/seignor* could simply be used to indicate the respect that the wife had for her husband.

So far, most examples of *sire*, covering the data from the 9th to the 13th centuries, project the association of the term *sire* with the power of the addressee. Yet, *sire* can be used to address an inferior as a sign of respect (see also example [211]). In the following examples, warriors who fight for their kings or queens are addressed by the term *sire*.

(214) [King Marsile to his warriors]

Oez,	*seignurs,*	*quel*	*mortel*	*estultie*
listen- 2Pl.Imp.	lords	what	deadly	madness

Charles	*me*	*mandet,*	*ki*	*France*	*ad*	*en*	*baillie*
Charles	me	order-3Sg.	who	France	have-3Sg.	on	possession

Que	*me*	*remember*	*de*	*la*	*sue*	*grant*	*ire…*
that	me	remind-Inf.	of	the	his	great	anger

(*Rol.*, 40.487-489)

'Listen, lords, what a deadly madness! Charlemagne, who has power in France, orders me that I remind myself of his great anger'

(215) [queen to her knights]

Et	*dit:*	*" Seignor,*	*des qu'*	*il*	*vos*	*siet*
Conj.	say-3Sg.	lords	since	it	you-2Pl.Obl.	suit-3Sg.

Cil	*chevaliers*	*qui*	*lez*	*moi*	*siet*
this	knight	who	next to	me	sit down-3Sg.

M' *a* *mout* *proiee,* *et* *mout* *requise*
me have- 3Sg.Aux. much begged-Part. and much asked-Part.

De *m'* *enor,* *et* *an* *mon* *servise*
of my honor and on my service

Se *vialt* *metre,* *et* *je* *l'* *an* *merci…"*
Conj. want-3Sg. put-Inf. and I Art. for that thank-1Sg.

(*Yvain*, 2115-2119)

'She says: "Lords, since it pleases you, this knight, who is sitting next to me, begged and asked me a lot for my honor, and he wants to be on my service, for which I'm thankful"'

Additionally, the term *sire* could be an address among equals and friends, e.g. in the use of the term 'lord' between Roland and his friend Olivier (*Rol.*, 96.1146).

Sire/seigneur occurred in many instances as a compound forms accompanying the titles of nobility. The compound term *seigneurs baruns*, for instance, was an address term frequently used to address the barons in *La chanson de Roland*.

(216) [Roland to his army]

Seigneurs *baruns,* *suef* *pas* *alez* *tenant.* (*Rol.*, 97.1165)
lords barons soft step go-2Pl. keep-Part.

'Lords barons, take little steps'

Sire vasax (*Yvain*, 495), and *sire rois* (*Rol.*, 19.265) are other compound forms of *sire* attested in the data. Using titles with *sire* could add to the deferential meaning of the term *sire* since the speaker emphasizes on the distinctive position of the addressee.

The analysis of the widespread term *sire/seigneur* in Old French shows that *sire* 'lord', by the end of the Old French period, became a deferential term of address regardless of the power or rank of the addressee. It is our claim that *sire*, which was

exclusively reserved for powerful and prominent people in Early Old French, was gradually generalized as a term of respect for all addressees. If speakers desired to express their respect to the addressees because of the superiority, high ranking, authority, nobility or other qualities of the hearers, then they would use the term *sire*. From this perspective, the meaning of *sire* supposedly weakened during centuries, and it could no longer semantically convey only the idea of power and authority. Our observation is supported by Stowell (1908) who argues that *sire* had one "normal meaning" and one "transferred meaning": *sire* in its original or normal meaning would mean "he who has authority" and was an address term for addressees who had authority over the speaker (Stowell 1908: 191-195). Yet, Stowell believes that the term *sire* started to gain a second meaning or a "transferred meaning" when it was just used as a flattering address term to please addressees who, in fact, did not have the "actual authority over the speaker, or over some territorial division" to be entitled to the term *sire*. The frequent misuse of the term *sire* therefore resulted in the emergence of a general term 'sir' or 'gentleman' (Stowell 1908:196-198, 201-202): "A shift in meaning consequently occurred, and *sire* shifted from signifying 'he who has authority', or 'he who has authority over me', to signifying 'my honored sire,' 'monsieur.' In those cases where the word was still used as a title for kings, seigneurs, husbands, lovers and fathers, a shade of the original "normal" meaning probably still remained" (Stowell 1908:202).

Historically, the term *sire/seigneur* is derived from Latin *senior*, which was the comparative form of *senex* 'old' or 'an elderly person'. Although *senex* was not a deferential term, *senior* could bear some degree of respect (see Ernout & Meillet 1967,

s.v. *senex*). Even though no explanation is found to why *senior* could express respect, we think that *senior* could become a respectful term by pointing to the wisdom and experience of aged individuals. Therefore, its etymology could contribute to its development as a term of respect. Yet, one may wonder why in early periods, the term *sire* was a term of address for powerful people rather than experienced and wise people. Two explanations can be proposed here. In our first explanation, we claim that we do not have enough data from early periods of French or from the transitional period from Latin to Romance languages to confirm the association of meaning of *sire* solely with power and authority. In our second explanation, we argue that the authoritarian connotation of *sire* can be traced back to Latin. In our examination of the plays of Plautus, we found the frequent, but not exclusive, use of the term *senex* for elderly masters (see section 3.2.1.1). The abundance of the use of the term *senex*, over the centuries, for people who had authority and power over the speaker could be the reason why *sire* is associated with power and authority.

In passing, we would like to point to the reappearance of the title *dan* or *dant* 'lord' in the 13th century in *Le roman de Renart*. As discussed earlier, this title was only attested in Early Old French texts, used by narrators. However, in *Le roman de Renart*, we find the use of this title in about 14 instances, from which 11 instances occur in direct address (see also Stowell 1908: 107-111), in conversations among characters.

(217) [Brichemer, the stag, to Brun, the bear and to Tybert, the cat]

Dist	Brichemer: “*Dant*	*Brun,*	*Tybert,*		
say.3Sg.Perf.	Brichemer	lord	Brun	Tybert	
Irez	*vos*	*donc*	*chies*	*dant*	*Frobert ?”*
go-2Pl. Fut.	you-2PL.Obl.	so	to	lord	Frobert

(*Renart*, 9.921)

‘Brichemer said: "Lord Brun, Tybert, will you, therefore, go to the lord Frobert?"’

3.5.2.2. Dame

Dame is a term that has also been attested since the Early Old French period. As discussed previously, *dame* (<Lat. *domina*) was used to address women who could have some kind of authority. In contrast to Early Old French, where we found only one instance of the address term *dame* in *La vie de Saint Alexis*, in texts of the 12th and the 13th centuries, *dame* is abundantly used in direct address: *Le Fresne* (5 inst.), *Le roman de Renart* (5 inst.), *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* (21 inst.). The following examples, for instance, show the use of *dame* as a courteous term for the ruler (example 218) as well as for the wife (example 219) or the mistress of the house (example 220).

(218) [knight to queen]

Dame,	*fet*	*il,*	*vostre*	*merci;*
lady	say- 3Sg.	he	your	mercy
Quant	*vostre*	*sires*	*m’*	*asailli*
when	your	husband	me	attack-3Sg.Perf.
Quel	*tort*	*oi*	*je*	*de*	*moi*	*desfandre?*
what	wrong	have-1Sg.Perf.	I	of	me	defend

(*Yvain*, 2001-2003)

‘Lady, he says, have mercy! When your husband attacked me, was it wrong to defend myself?’

(219) [husband to wife]

Dame,	*fet*	*il,*	*quei*	*dites*	*vus?*
lady	say-3Sg.	he	what	say-2Pl.	you.2Pl.

Il	*n’*	*ad*	*si*	*bien*	*nun*	*entre*	*nus.*
there	not	have-3Sg.	Prep.Loc.	good	Prep.Loc.	between	us

(*Fres.*, 461-462)

‘Lady, what do you say? It has always been good between us’

(220) [servant to mistress]

Dame,	*fet*	*ele,*	*ne*	*vaut*	*rien.*
Lady,	say-3Sg.	she	not	worth-3Sg.	nothing

Lessez	*cest*	*dol,*	*si*	*ferez*	*bien!*
abandon- 2Pl.Imp.	this	grief	Adv.	make- 2Pl.Fut.	well

(*Fres.*, 107-108)

‘Lady, she says, it is not worthy. Abandon this grief and you will be well.’

Although the term *dame* occurs with greater frequently in Old French texts, in our data, the term was found for female addressees who either had authority and power or belonged to upper class society. Therefore, no significant changes in the meaning of *dame* occurred during centuries. Our observation is, in fact, in accordance with Stowell’s findings. According to Stowell (1908:116), *dame*, which originally was a term for authoritarian women, gained a “transferred meaning” or a second meaning. Stowell (1908) argues that *dame* gradually started to be used as a flattering address for women whose situations would not normally allow them to be addressed by the term *dame*. This

misuse of the term *dame* resulted in its usage for women without power or authority. However, Stowell (1908) insists that for a long period in Old French, *dame* was a title only for noble women: "Until the first half of the thirteenth century, however, *dame* was employed as a title for women of the nobility only, and was never used as a title for the *bourgeoisie*, or for the lower classes of society" (Stowell 1908: 116).

Unlike *dame*, the term *dameisele/damoisele* 'young lady' was not exclusively reserved to noble young women. In fact, *damoisele* could be used for a young female of any rank or any social class (see *Yvain,* 2435; *Fres.* 423). *Damoisele* was also derived from *domina* (i.e. *damoisele* < Vulg.[vulgar] Lat. diminutive *dominicella* < Lat. *domina*); yet, the semantic connotation of power or authority carried by *domina* was definitively absent in *demoisele* because of the characteristics of diminutives. Females could be compared, metaphorically, to small things or children (Jurafsky 1996:546). Consequently, the notion of power or authority could not be conveyed by diminutives.

3.5.3. Friendship Terms

The Old French terms of courtesy that we have so far presented were all associated with high ranking positions of addressees and nobility. It seems that an Old French speaker had to be polite towards noble and prominent people of society. In this respect, politeness could be expressed solely by titles or terms that convey the speaker's recognition of the authority or the superiority of the addressee. Yet, in many instances, the speaker and the addressee had a friendly relationship and would use certain forms of address to convey sympathy and friendship.

The terms *amis/ amie* (< Lat. *amicus/ amica* 'friend') and *cumpainz* 'companion' were frequently used in Old French as terms of endearment. In the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987:107), similar terms are used when the speaker claims "the common ground" with the hearer. Consequently, the terms expressing friendship in Old French could very well be "in-group identity markers," indicating the use of a positive politeness strategy.

(221) [servant to the knight Yvain]

Et	*cele*	*li*	*a*	*dit:*	*"Amis,*
then	this (she)	(to) him	have-3Sg.	said-Part.	friend

Öez	*qu'*	*il*	*vos*	*quierent*	*ja*	*tuit..."*
hear-2Pl.	that	they	you-2Pl.Obl.	search-3Pl.	now	all

(*Yvain*, 1058-1059)

'Then, she told him (Yvain): "Friend, do you hear that they all looking for you now?"'

(222) [Olivier to Roland]

Sire	*cumpainz,*	*amis,*	*ne*	*l'*	*dire*	*ja.*
lord	companion	friend	not	that	say-Inf.	never

(*Rol.*, 94.1113)

'Lord companion, friend, never say that'

It should be noted that the honorific *sire* was attested with the term *cumpainz*, but not with the term *amis* because *cumpainz* was considered a more formal term pointing also to 'colleague'.

In the framework of the universality theory of politeness, terms of endearment convey positive politeness, while honorifics convey negative politeness. In the above examples, we find the term *amis* (i.e. a term of endearment) with the honorifics *sire* and

vos as terms of address for the same addressee. Consequently, once again, we are witnessing the occurrence of both strategies in the same context. As discussed previously, the co-occurrence of linguistic elements representing positive and negative politeness seems to be usual in Medieval French.

The following example from *Le Fresne* shows the use of the term *amie* between mother and daughter.

(223) [mother to daughter]

Tu	*es*	*ma*	*fille,*	*bele*	*amie!*	(*Fres.*, 450)
you-2Sg.	be-2Sg.	my	daughter	dear	friend	

'You are my daughter, dear friend'

In our data, the term *[bele] amie* was only seen between mother and her daughter. In example (218) mother recognizes her daughter and uses the term *[bele] amie*. Yet, before recognizing her daughter, the mother still addresses the young girl, who was raised by people of lower class society, by the term [*bele*] *amie*. In both cases, the use of *amie* indicates affection towards the addressee.

(224)

Bele	*amie,*	*nel*	*me*	*celez!*	(*Fres.*, 431)
dear	friend	not that	me	hide- 2Pl.Imp.	

'Dear friend, do not hide it from me!'

Amie was a term used by nobles to address female friends of equal rank, women of younger age or lower rank, younger female relatives, wives, sweethearts, or mistresses (Stowell 1908: 52-56).

Frere 'brother' is also among the terms of endearment that found in polite contexts. By using *frere* the speaker invokes brotherhood and friendship between himself

and the addressee, regardless of their different social status or power (see also Stowell 1908:141-147).

(225) [Renart to Ysengrin, the wolf]

Frere,	*fet*	*il,*	*or*	*vos*	*estuet*
brother	say-3Sg.	he	now	you.2Pl.Obl.	be necessary-3Sg.

Mout	*sagement*	*a*	*maintenir*
much	wisely	to	maintain-Inf.

Por	*les*	*poisons*	*avant*	*venir*.	(*Renart*, 4.22-24)
for	the	fish-Pl.	forward	come-Inf.	

'Brother, now, you must act very carefully, so the fish comes forward'

Among the terms that we have discussed in this section, the terms *sire*, *dame*, *ami/ amie* or *cumpaniz* were the most used terms of address in both the 12th and 13th century of French. A similar observation has been made by Love (1985), for early 12th century French: "The most common vocative nouns in polite or courtly narratives of the first three quarters of the twelfth century are unquestionably: *sire*, *dame*, *amis*, *amie*, and perhaps *bele*" (1985:311).

3.5.4 Polite Adjectives

Politeness could be underscored by adding positive and polite adjectives to titles or lexical terms, as in *dreiz emperere* 'fair emperor' or *franc chevalier* 'noble knights' (examples 199 and 205). However, unlike Latin, in Old French, only certain adjectives widely appeared in polite contexts. For instance, the descriptive adjectives *biau*, *bel* (masc.)/ *belle* (fem.) 'handsome, beautiful', 'fine', 'pleasant', 'fair'', 'dear' as well as the possessive adjective *mes/ma* 'my' are adjectives that are found in combination with terms

of address. As it is shown in the following examples, the descriptive adjectives were mostly used to praise or flatter the addressee.

(226) [Roland to uncle]

"*Tenez, bels sire," dist Rollanz a sun uncle,...*
hold- 2Pl.Imp. dear lord say- 3Sg.Perf. Roland to his uncle

(*Rol.*, 31.387)

'"Here (there are), dear lord" Roland said to his uncle'

(227) [wife to husband]

[…] *Biau sire, de vostre ame*
[…] dear lord of your soul

Ait Dex merci… (*Yvain*, 1286-1287)
have- 3Sg.Subju. God mercy

'Dear lord, may god bless your soul'

(228) [Renart to his uncle, Ysengrin]

Haï! biax oncles Ysengrin,
Interj. dear uncle Ysengrin

Ja sont il tant malvez voisin !... (*Renart*, 1.217-218)
always be-3Pl. they so many wicked neighbors

'Alas, dear uncle, Ysengrin, there are so many wicked neighbors!'

The adjective *bels/biau/biax* (< Lat. diminutive *bellus* < *bonus*) 'handsome', 'good', 'kind' frequently occurred only with certain deferential terms. Since Early Old French, for instance, the term *sire* was one of the term continuously modified by the adjective *bels*. The term *bels sire* that abundantly occurs in all texts of Old French, is, in fact, considered a single term by Stowell (1908). Stowell (1908) claims that the adjective *bels* in *bels sire* loses its meaning of 'handsome', and the entire expression *bels sire* would

simply signify ‘lord’, equal to the term *sire* ‘lord’: “Like other compounds of *beaus*, *beaus sire*, […], had lost entirely the idea, ‘handsome,’ and had become equivalent to *sire.* […] In works of all periods and from all sections of the territory, *beaus sire* in the “transferred” meaning, ‘monsieur,’ was used as a title or nobles and priests who were the superiors, equals, and even the inferiors of the speaker” (Stowell 1908: 212-214).

Similarly, *bele* ‘beautiful’, ‘good’, ‘kind’ (i.e. feminine of *bels*) was exclusively seen in the accompaniment of certain lexical or affectionate terms. In our data, for instance, we found several instances of the use of the adjective *bele* with the term *amie* (see example 223). Similar to *bels sire,* the high frequency of *bele amie* initiated arguments on the emergence of a single compound term in which the adjective *bele* was empty of meaning. Stowell (1908:57) considers the same function and meaning for *bele amie* as for *amie.* Likewise, Kibler (1984), in his glossary, associates the meaning ‘Miss’ with the term *bele amie*.

The loss of meaning or ‘bleaching’ is a phenomenon of grammaticalization that often happens in languages. Hopper and Traugott (2003:94-95), studying the phenomenon of ‘bleaching’, believe that a term can lose its original meaning over time but gain a new meaning rather than becoming meaningless. Therefore, *bels* and *bele* had to gain a new meaning rather than becoming meaningless. Additionally, if *bels sire* or *bele amie* were single terms, one would expect that the adjectives and the nouns be inseparable or that the adjectives be unable to mark gender, case, or number. Not only could *bels* and *bele* mark gender, case, or number, but we also find examples where *bels* is separated from the noun by other adjectives or adverbs, as follows.

(229) [priest to bishop]

Dit	*li*	*prestres:*	*"Biax*	*tres*	*dolz*	*sire,*
say-3Sg.	the	priest	kind	very	fair	lord

Toute	*parole*	*se*	*lait*	*dire …*	(*T.d.A.*, 107-108)
all	speech	Refl.	let-3Sg.	tell-Inf.	

'The priest says: "Very kind and fair lord, everything is said"'

(230) [Renart to Brun, the bear]

Alez	*vos*	*ent,*	*Brun,*	*biaus*	*doz*	*sire,*
go- 2Pl.Imp.	you.2Pl.	there	Brun	dear	sweet	lord

Vos	*avez*	*bien*	*mestier*	*de*	*mire.*
you-2Pl.Subj.	have-2Pl.	well	need	of	physician

(*Renart*, 9.1125-1126)

'Go there, Brun, dear sweet lord. You very well need a physician'

In addition, the adjective *bels* was occasionally found with other terms as well, as in *biax conpainz* 'dear companion' (*Yvain*, 2513) or *biax dolz conpainz* 'dear sweet companion' (*Yvain*, 2531). Similarly, the adjective *bele* could also be used with other terms (eg. *bele criature* 'beautiful creature' [*Yvain*, 2385]), or as a noun.

(231) [mother to daughter]

Bele,	*pois*	*jeo*	*veer*	*l'*	*anel?*	(*Fres.*, 441)
dear	can-1Sg.	I	see-Inf.	the	ring	

'Dear, can I see the ring?'

Therefore, we contend that terms like *bels sire* and *bele amie* simply became deferential formulae because of their high frequency. These formulae probably originated in Latin. The Latin adjective *bonus* often appeared in polite expressions like *bonus vir* or *bone vir*

'good man', 'brave man' (Ernout & Meillet 1967, s.v. *bonus*). The endearing connotation of *bels* and *bele* can be traced back to their origin *bellus. Bellus* was a Latin diminutive and one of the functions of diminutives was to convey affection and endearment (see Jurafsky 1960).

The study of Love (1985) on Old French vocative (i.e. relating to direct address) adjectives supports our findings and interpretation. Love (1985) considers the three adjectives *biaus*, *dous* and *chier*[13]as vocative adjectives used to add respect and affectionate tone to vocative nouns (i.e. address terms). While these three adjectives may not convey the same degree of affection, Love (1985) names the adjective *biaus* as the most used adjectives. *Biaus/belle*, which originally meant 'beautiful', soon started to accompany names to add respect to their meanings: "Whatever its meaning in the early twelfth century may have been, in the second half of the twelfth century, *biaus* is used more and more often with an expanding range of vocative nouns. In the twelfth and early thirteen centuries, *biaus* conveyed either respect or affection when included in a term of address" (Love 1985: 309).The statement of Love (1985) also indicates that the adjective *bels* could not be empty of meaning and it did not fused with any noun. By contrast, it would add more meaning to terms of address.

One, however, may wonder why a speaker of Old French would add more deferential meaning to the terms like *sire* or *amie* that could convey respect by themselves. This strategy has been attested since Latin: there was a tendency to pile up

13 *Dous* 'sweet' is another spelling of *dolz* or *doz*, attested in our data. Different dialects normally had distinguished orthography of the same word. *Chiers*, on the other hand, is the masculine singular of *chiere* 'dear'.

the polite terms or structures in order to be highly deferential. In example (229), the speaker would even go further and add additional polite adjective to the address *bels sire*. In the following example, on the other hand, we see that *bels sire* is added to the title *reis* in order to flatter the king.

(232) *Bels* *sire* *reis,* *laissiez* *ester* *voz* *Francs*.
kind lord king leave- 2Pl.Imp. be-Inf. your.2Pl. Franks

(*Rol.*, 9.265)

'Kind lord, the king, let your Franks stay here'

Interestingly, Love (1985: 311) argues that while these adjectives were common with certain terms, they were not seen frequently with titles, occupational terms or diminutives: "Not all vocative nouns took epithets. *Biaus, dous,* and *chiers* are uncommon with *rois, roine, emperere, seneschal, vassal, pucele,* and *damoisele.* They occur frequently with general social vocatives, e.g. *sire, amis,* with terms of family relationship, and with proper nouns" (Love 1985: 311). According to Love (1985:311), fewer adjectives were even attested when the terms *sire* or *dame* were used to address the king or the queen because adding adjectives in those situations would not allow the speaker to be more respectful. This statement of Love (1985), in fact, contradicts his earlier statement where he claims that *biaus* was used to add more affection or respect to vocatives. Not adding positive adjectives like *bels* to diminutives may not be surprising. As we also saw in Latin, diminutives can be used as terms of endearment. Therefore, adding more affectionate meaning to diminutives does not seem to be necessary. Not

using adjectives with titles, on the other hand, would help the speaker to preserve the formality of the context.

As shown in examples (229) and (230), we found the adjective of endearment *dolz* 'sweet' in our data. Yet, its occurrence was mostly seen in the texts of the late 12th century or the texts of the 13th century. In all instances, the adjective *dolz* / *doz* accompanied the adjective *bels*/*biax*. The speaker would combine various adjectives of endearment in order to be more flattering or more respectful. The adjective *chiere* 'dear', by contrast, is only seen, in *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, a text of the 13th century. *Chiere* mostly appeared with the term *dame* when the knight Yvain addresses his wife (e.g. *Ma tres chiere dame* [14] 'my very dear lady' [*Yvain*, 2551]). Love (1985) also noticed the difference in the degree of affection carried out by these adjectives: "Unlike *biaus*, which is as much an epithet of respect as of affection, *dous* was not used ironically, neither was it used in a (polite) condescending manner. Maierhofer finds that *dous* is always used with strong and genuine emotions such as pity, gratitude, and of course, love or affection; in contrast with *chiers*, it appears more intimate, less formal" (Love 1985: 309-310). In addition, these adjectives could not appear in any order, if used together. If *biaus* and *dous* had to modify the same term of address, the order would be *biaus dous* rather than *dous biaus*. If the adjectives, on the other hand, were *biaus* and *chiers*, the adjective *chiers* would appear either soon before or soon after the noun. Yet, when *dous* and *chiers* were used together, *chiers* would follow the noun (Love 1985: 310). The

[14] The full context is shown in example (246) later in this section.

observation of Love (1985) reveals that the order in which these adjectives could appear depended on the degree of affection. *Biaus* was the adjective that could convey the least affection and *chiers* was the adjective that could convey the most affection (*biaus*< *dous*< *chiers*). Therefore, they would always appear in the following order: *biaus*+*dous*+*chiers*. While *biaus* and *dous* had a fixed syntactic position in relation to the noun, the position of *chiers* was not yet fixed.

The possessive adjective *mes* 'my' was also employed to endear the speaker to the addressee. As we discussed earlier in this chapter, the vocative possessive *mi* was marked in Latin for its usage in polite contexts. The possessive adjective *mes* in late Old French continued to have a similar function as Latin *mi*, expressing affection and endearment. By using *mes*, speakers endear themselves to hearers. However, unlike Latin, in Old French, the possessive adjective did not occur freely with all address terms. The term that frequently occurred with the possessive adjective was the term *sire*. The possessive *mes* soon fused with the term *sire* in nominative and formed the single word *messire* 'my lord'.The example (233) is an example of the use of the term *messire* in both direct and referential address.

(233) [conversation between two knights]

Merci,	*messire*	*Kex,*	*merci!*
thank you	my lord	Keu	thank you

Se	*messire*	*Yvains*	*n'*	*est*	*or*	*ci,*
Conj.	my lord	Yvain	not	be-3Sg.	now	here

Ne	*savez*	*quele*	*essoine*	*il*	*a.*	(*Yvain*, 2211-2213)
not	know-2Pl.	what	problem	he	have-3Sg.	

‘Thank you, my lord Keu, thank you! If my lord Yvain is not here now, you don’t know what problem he may have’

Messire could be used to address respectfully any noble or high ranking person regardless of the superiority or inferiority of any of the interlocutors. For instance, the term *messire* was used by a female servant to address a knight (*Yvain*, 1550), or by a queen to address a knight (*Yvain*, 611). In contrast to *sire*, *messire*, in most instances, was accompanied by the name of the addressee (see Stowell 1908: 221). The term *messire* ‘my lord’, by itself, could mean ‘my own husband’ or ‘my own leader’ (see also Stowell 1908: 221). Using proper name would help the speaker to clarify his/her intention and to show whether the adjective *mes* was used to indicate the possession or to just express endearment and respect. Therefore, the use of *messire* in combination with the proper noun became normal and usual.

Ma dame is another term that was repeatedly used in late Old French in the meaning of ‘my (own) mistress (i.e. superior)’, ‘my (own) leader’, or ‘my (own) wife’ (see also Stowell 1908: 123-124).

(234) [servant to knight, referring to her mistress]

Ma	*dame*	*an*	*fet*	*un*	*duel*	*si*	*fort*
my	lady	of that	make-3Sg.	a	mourning	so	hard

Et	*ses*	*genz*	*anviron*	*lui*	*crïent...*	(*Yvain*, 982-983)
and	her	people	around	her	yell-3Pl.	

‘My lady mourns very hard, and the people around her, they are yelling’

(235) [knights referring to their leader]

C'	*est*	*cil*	*qui*	*ma*	*dame*	*prendra…*	(*Yvain*, 2063)
this	be-3Sg.	the one	who	my	lady	take-3Sg.	

'Here is the person with whom my lady will marry'

The term *ma demoiselle*, on the other hand, was found in a few instances (*Yvain*, 2435), where the adjective *ma* would add affectionate and flattering meaning to the term *demoiselle*.

The modern French words *madame* 'Mrs', *mademoiselle* 'Miss', and *monsieur* 'Mr' are certainly the residues of Old French *ma dame, ma demoiselle,* and *mon seignor*. We can therefore conclude that, unlike the adjective *bels*, the possessive adjectives progressively lost their meaning, which led to the formation of new and general terms in Modern French. In this regard, Stowell (1908:222-223) makes two important remarks. He points to the replacement of the nominative *messire* with the oblique *mon seigneur* in direct address, which explains why in contemporary French, we find the term *monsieur*. He also believes in the fusion of the possessive adjective *ma* with the term *dame* and the creation of a single term *madame* in later centuries:

> At a date later than the first half of the fourteenth century, *dame* became so colorless a word that it carried with it no respect and fell into disuse as a title in direct address. When this occurred, *ma dame*, which had retained its original conceptions of honor, was substituted for *dame*.
> It must also be noted that, toward the end of the period treated by this monograph, there seems to have been a tendency to fuse *ma dame* into one word.
>
> (Stowell 1908:125)

It should, however, be remembered that although *monsieur* and *madame* are not flattering terms in Modern French, they still express some degree of respect and they are reserved for formal conversations.

Despite the fact that polite adjectives add more affection to the address terms, their usage do not automatically imply a positive politeness strategy. The type of the politeness strategy is determined by lexical terms that are modified by the adjectives. For instance, titles and honorific terms represent negative politeness regardless of the presence or the absence of polite adjectives.

3.5.5. Polite Expressions

As we discussed earlier, terms of address had a major role in conveying respect, affection or endearment. Although they could be the only linguistic device expressing politeness in a given context, the speaker could always reach out to other expressions or structures in order to convey deferential intention. One of the familiar structures in polite discourses, as attested in Latin, is the 'imperative' to give advice and friendly warning (i.e. the 'bald-on-record' strategy, see Brown and Levinson 1987).

(236) [rooster (cock) to hen]

N'	*aiez*	*peor*	*de*	*nule*	*riens*
not	have- Subju.Imp.	fear	of	any	thing

Que	*vos*	*face*	*gorpil*	*ne*	*chiens.*
that	you-2Pl.Obl.	do-3Sg.Subju.	fox	not	dogs

De	*nule*	*riens*	*n'*	*aiez*	*peör*
of	any	thing	not	have-2Pl.Subju.	fear

Mes soiez trestoute aseür. (*Renart*, 5.91-94)
but be-2Pl.Subju. completely confident

'Don't be afraid of anything. Don't fear that any fox or dog hurts you. Be completely confident'

(220)/(237) [servant to mistress]

Dame, fet ele, " ne vaut rien.
lady say-3Sg. she not worth-3Sg. nothing

lessez cest dol, si ferez bien!
abandon-2Pl.Imp. this grief Adv. make- 2Pl.Fut. well

(*Fres.*,107-108)

'Lady, she says, it is not worthy. Abandon this grief and you will be well.'

Ordering, using imperatives, of course, is not polite. Yet, the speaker can order the addressee by employing the first person plural. First person plural was occasionally used in Latin to avoid targeting directly the addressee and therefore to soften the order and command.

(238) *Seignors, fet il, or en prenon*
lords say-3Sg. he now Pron. take-1Pl.

.I. jor de cest acordement. (*Renart*, 9.596-597)
one day of this agreement

'Lords, he says, now let's pick up a day for this agreement'

In Old French, similar to Modern French, the speaker could be polite while giving orders, using the imperative. When the speaker uses the second person plural to address a single addressee (i.e. pronoun of respect), as it is presented in the above examples, S/he remains somehow polite despite the use of the direct imperative. In this regard, in French and languages with the T/V system, the imperative can be used to give a polite order.

Another point that we should make here is the incompatibility of our observation with the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987). In example (220/237), the speaker addresses the hearer by the term *dame*, which is an honorific term. Such terms, according to Brown and Levinson (1987) are polite linguistic devices used to "give deference", a strategy of "negative politeness". "Negative politeness" is categorized as "Do the FTA [face-threatening act] with redressive action" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 68-71). Yet, the use of the imperative in giving advice or friendly warnings occurs for the "bald-on-record" strategy, which is categorized as "Do the FTA [face-threatening act] without redressive action" (see Brown and Levinson 1987:68-71). The explanation of Brown and Levinson shows that in the "bald-on record" strategy, the main goal of the speaker is to convey the message as directly and clearly as possible without being truly concerned about the image of the addressee. On the other hand, in negative politeness, the speaker tries to be respectful and avoid being rude or hurting the feelings of the hearer (see Brown and Levinson 1987, see also chapter 2). In this respect, when we agree with the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), the relation between the addressee and the hearer may therefore be difficult to interpret in examples such as (220)/ (237). In fact, it is not clear why the speaker would change the strategy while there is no change in the speaker-addressee relationship. Similarly, in example (238), once again, we witness the collision of two strategies of Brown and Levinson (1987). The use of polite address terms like *seigneurs* are found in "negative politeness" (i.e. "Give deference"), while the use of first person plural (i.e. including both the speaker and the addressee in the discourse) is a feature of "positive politeness" (Brown and Levinson 1987, see chapter 2).

‘Asking questions’ is another strategy that is frequently used in modern languages. This strategy helps to lessen the imposition on the addressee (see Brown and Levinson 1987). Yet, in Latin and Early Old French, ‘asking questions’ was not a favorite strategy. In Old French, by contrast, this strategy appears occasionally in polite contexts.

(239) [servant to mistress]

Et	*quant*	*le*	*porrons*	*nos*	*avoir ?*	(*Yvain*, 1822)
Conj.	when	him	can- 1Pl.Fut.	nous-Subj.	have-Inf.	

‘When can we have him?

(231)/(240) [mother to her strange daughter]

Bele,	*pois*	*jeo*	*veer*	*l’*	*anel?*	(*Fres.*, 441)
dear	can-1Sg.	I	see-Inf.	the	ring	

‘Dear, may I see the ring?’

(241) [rooster (cock) to hen]

Savrïez	*m’*	*en*	*vos*	*conseillier?*	(*Renart*, 5.171)
know- 2Pl. Cond.	me	for that	you-2Pl.	advise-Inf.	

‘Could you give me advice on that?’

The use of conditional mood in example (241), without a doubt, enhances the polite connotation of the context. The use of both conditional and pronoun of respect indicate the use of negative politeness strategies in example (241). The use of the term *bele* and first person plural (i.e. *porrons*), by contrast, indicate the use of positive politeness in examples (239) and (240). It should be noted that ‘asking questions’ can be a strategy of both positive and negative politeness.

Other strategies that we found mostly towards the end of Old French periods are 'thanking', 'apologizing', or 'begging'. For implying these strategies, the speaker would, use verbs or expressions that convey appreciation, regret or request.

(242) [knight (Yvain) to queen]

Dame,	*voir,*	*ja*	*ne*	*vos*	*querrai*
lady	sincerely	never	not	you-2Pl.Obl.	ask- 1Sg.Fut.

Merci,	*einz*	*vos*	*mercïerai*
pity	rather	you-2Pl.Obl.	thank- 1Sg.Fut.

De	*quanque*	*vos*	*me*	*voldroiz*	*feire*
of	all	you-2Pl.Subj.	me	want- 2Pl.Cond.	do-Inf.

Que	*riens*	*ne*	*me*	*porroit*	*despleire.*
that	nothing	not	me	can-3Sg.Cond.	displease-Inf.

(*Yvain*, 1977-1980)

'Lady, I will never ask you for pity. I say that sincerely. Rather, I will thank you for whatever you decide for me because nothing can displease me.'

(243) [queen to servant]

Et	*dit:*	*" Merci*	*crïer*	*vos*	*vuel*
Conj.	say-3Sg.	mercy	cry.Inf.	you-2Pl.Obl.	want-1Sg.

Del	*grant*	*oltrage*	*et*	*de*	*l'*	*orguel*
of the	great	insult	and	of	the	pride

Que	*je*	*vos*	*ai*	*dit*	*come*	*fole...*"
that	I	you-2Pl.Obl.	have-1Sg.	said-Part.	like	mad woman

(*Yvain*, 1797-1799)

'She says: "I want to ask you pardon because I talked to you madly with great insult and pride"'

In Latin, we argued that 'begging' was one of the essential strategies. Although, in Old French, 'begging' is not considered to be one of the main strategies of politeness, it was still a way to make a request.

(244) [Ysengrin, the wolf, to other animals]

Biau	*seignors,*	*fet*	*il,*	*ore*	*oiez !*
dear	lords	say- 3Sg.	he	now	listen-2Pl.Imp.

A	*mon*	*plet*	*vos*	*ai*	*amenez,*
to	my	trial	you-2Pl.Obl.	have-1Sg.Aux.	brought-Part.

Or	*vos*	*pri*	*que*	*le*	*maintenez,*
now	you-2Pl. Obl.	beg-1Sg.	that	that	support-2Pl.

Puis	*que*	*ci*	*estes*	*aüné.*	(*Renart*, 9.790-793)
because		here	be-2Pl.	gathered	

'Dear lords, he says, now listen! I brought you here because of my trial. Now that you are gathered here, I beg you to support my cause'

(245) [knight to queen]

Se	*ma*	*dame*	*m'*	*an*	*leisse*	*an*	*pes,*	
If	my	lady	me	Pron.	permit-3Sg.	Pron.	Neg-Adv.	

Et	*je*	*li*	*pri*	*qu'*	*ele*	*s'*	*an*	*teise,*	
Conj.	I	her	beg.1Sg	that	she	Refl.	Pron.	be silent-3Sg.	

Que	*la*	*chose*	*qui*	*me*	*despleise*
that	the	thing	that	to me	displease.3Sg.Subju.

Ne	*me*	*comant,*	*Soe*	*merci.*	(*Yvain*, 120-123)
not	me	command.3Sg.Subju.	her	mercy	

'If my lady does not let me avoid it, I beg her that she be silent and that she doesn't order me to do what is unpleasant to me by her mercy'

‘Praising’ the addressee was a frequent strategy of Latin when the speaker had a request. This polite tactic was also attested in Old French, although it was not found very often.

(246) [Yvain (the knight) to his wife, the ruler]

Si li dist: “ Ma tres chiere dame,
Conj. lui say-3Sg. Perf. my very dear lady

Vos qui estes mes cuers et m’ ame,
you-2Pl.Subj. who be-2Pl. my heart and my spirit

Mes biens, ma joie, et ma santez,
my fortune my happiness and my health

Une chose m’ acreantez
one thing to me accord-2Pl.Imp.

Por vostre enor et por la moie. ” (*Yvain*, 2551-2555)
for your.2Pl. honor and for Art. Pron. Poss.

‘He said: “My very dear lady, you who are my heart, my spirit, my fortune, my happiness and my integrity, accord to me one chose for your honor and for mine”’

In contrast to the previous structures, the linguistic structure ‘if it pleases you’ or ‘if it is convenient for you’ (i.e. Modern French *s’il vous plaît*) was the prevalent structure in Old French polite contexts. The first instances of these structures that are the origin of the French expression *s’il vous plaît* are attested in the 12th century (example 247). As discussed previously, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), the ‘if clause’ is categorized as a hedge (see chapter 2) used for negative politeness.

(247) [servant to God]

Deus, fait ele, par tun seint nun;
God, do-3Sg. she by your holy name

Sire, si te vient a pleisir,
Lord if to you become-3Sg. Prep. please-Inf.

Cest enfant garde de perir . (*Fres.*, 162-164)
this child keep- 2Sg.Imp. from danger

'God, she says, by your holy name, Lord, if it pleases you, keep this child away from danger'

(248) [priest to bishop]

Dit li prestres: "Biax tres dolz sire,
say-3Sg. the priest dear very sweet lord

Toute parole se lait dire ;
all speech Refl. let-3Sg. say-Inf.

Mais je demant jor de conseil
but I ask-1Sg. day of deliberation

Qu' il est droiz que je me conseil
Conj. it be-3Sg. right that I Refl. advise.1Sg.

De ceste choze, s' il vos plait... (*T.d.A.*, 107-111)
of this thing if it you-2Pl.Obl. please-3Sg.

'The priest says: "Dear sweet lord, everything has been said. But, please, I need a date for deliberation because it is my right that I consult with myself about this affair'

In addition to the above structures, similar to Latin, 'flattering' or 'praising' the addressee can be found in polite contexts, although they are not widely used in Old French. In the previous section, we presented certain adjectives that could be used with the address forms to flatter the addressee. Likewise, as shown in the following examples, the speaker could flatter or praise the addressee by giving compliments and associating good qualities to the addressee.

(249) [female ruler's entourage to king]

Bien veigne li rois et li sire
good coming the king and the lord

Des rois et des seignors del monde!
of the kings and the lords of the world

(*Yvain*, 2372-2373)

'The king and the lord of all kings and lords in the world is welcomed'

(250) [female ruler to king]

Bien veigne, par cent mile foiz,
good coming by hundred thousand times

Li rois mes sire, et beneoiz
the king my lord and blessed

Soit messire Gauvains, ses niés !
be.3Sg.Subju. my lord Gauvain his nephew

(*Yvain*, 2381-2386)

'Welcome one hundred thousand times, the king my lord, and be blessed my lord Gauvain, his nephew'

(251) [female ruler's entourage to king]

Bien vaingne, font il, ceste rote
good coming say-3Pl. they this troop

Qui de tant prodomes est plainne. (*Yvain*, 2336-2337)
who of much brave men be-3Sg. full

'Welcome, they say, to this troop full of such brave and valiant men'

(252) [female servant to the knight Yvain]

N'	*est*	*mie*	*prodon*	*qui*	*trop*	*dote:*
Not	be- 3Sg.	Neg.	brave man	who	very	have fear.3Sg.

Por	*ce*	*cuit*	*que*	*prodom*	*soiez*
for	that	pense-1Sg.	that	brave man	be- 2Pl.Subju.

Que	*n'*	*iestes*	*pas*	*trop*	*esmaiez.*	(*Yvain*, 996-998)
Conj.	not	be-2Pl.	Neg.	very	afraid	

'There is not a valiant knight who is fearful. For that reason, I think you are a valiant knight because you are not afraid'

The most instances of 'praising', however, can be attested in the conversations between the knight Yvain and the queen, his wife, in *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion.* Affection for the addressee and the power of the addressee were factors that led the speaker to praise and glorify the addressee. It should be noted that in examples (249-251), the speakers greet the addressee(s). 'Greetings', itself, is a sign of politeness.

Reviewing the Old French period, we realize that most Latin strategies survived in Old French (e.g. flattering, praising, begging, etc.) although their incidence may be different. Comparing linguistic features from the 12th and the 13th centuries, we see the dominance of polite address forms (e.g. titles and honorific terms) in expressing politeness in the 12th century Old French. On the other hand, according to our corpus, the use of polite expressions increases at the end of the 12th century and especially in the 13thcentury. In all kinds of relationship, Old French speakers tended to be formal. 'Formality' seems to be associated with respect in Old French. Consequently, we can conclude that 'negative politeness' was the preferred strategy although, in some

instances, positive and negative politeness could not be clearly distinguished in accordance with the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) as linguistic devices used for negative and positive politeness could co-occur in the same discourse.

3.6. MIDDLE FRENCH

Middle French consists of the language of the 14th and 15th centuries. In contrast to the 12th and 13th centuries, there are not many texts in Middle French. The decrease in the number of written texts is the consequence of a war, namely *La guerre de Cents Ans* 'one hundred years war', between kings of France and England**.** Among the best known texts, we can name the Chronicles of Joinville (14th c.) and the Chronicles of Froissart (14th-15th c.). In the Chronicles, we read about the experience of the authors with the court, their friendship with kings, their memories of wars, etc. The language of the Chronicles is of interest because it is close to real conversations or real language of the time. Therefore, we have examined conversations in 437 sections of *Vie de Saint Louis* written by Joinville in the 14th century. Joinville himself from upper class society, was acquainted with the life at the court since his childhood. In 1248, he joined King Louis IX for the Seventh Crusade, during which he developed a friendship with the king. After the king's death, at the request of the queen Jeanne of Champagne, the grand-niece of Louis IX, Joinville wrote a book about the life of Louis IX, in which we find series of conversations between the king and other officials or individuals (see Aspland 1979:245).

However, Chronicles are not rich in terms of direct speech and we did not solely focus on them. Our focus, in fact, will be on the play *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, written by

an anonymous author in the 15th century. The play, which is rich in direct communications, is about the confrontation between Pathelin 'the lawyer', Guillaume 'the clothier', and the shepherd. The data are gathered from the examination of the entire play. The direct conversations between the characters give us the most valuable information regarding the polite language of the time because *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, unlike the majority of Medieval French texts, reflects the language of ordinary people.

3.6.1. Honorific Terms of Address

3.6.1.1. Titles

In *Vie de Saint Louis*, we still find titles as one of the polite devices although they were not frequently used in direct address. As in previous centuries, the title would mostly refer to the high ranking or powerful position of the addressee or referent.

(253) [Joinville to King]

Or	*diz*	*je*	*a*	*vous,*	*mon*	*seigneur*	*le*	*roy*
now	say-1Sg.	I	to	you-2Pl.	my	lord	the	king

de	*Navarre,*	*que*	*je*	*promis*	*a*	*ma*	*dame*	*la*
of	Navarre	that	I	promise- 1Sg.	to	my	lady	the

royne	*vostre*	*mere,*	[...],	*que*	*je*	*feroie*
queen	your-2Pl.	mother		that	I	make-1Sg.Cond.

cest	*livre…*	(*St. Louis*, 18)
this	book	

'Now, I say to you, my lord, the king of Navarre, that I promise to my lady the queen, your mother, [...], that I would write this book'

The fact that the titles *roy* and *royne* are used after the honorific terms *mon seigneur* and *ma dame* indicate that the speaker recognizes the privileged social status of the addressee

or the referent even though the use of titles in this way can be flattering. Titles such as *le roy* 'king' or *le soudanc* 'sultan' (*St. Louis*, 348) were mostly found in referential address to refer to the leaders or rulers.

Other titles attested in *Vie de Saint Louis* are also an indication of the official or high ranking position of the addressee. For instance, Joinville, himself, is addressed by the title *Seneschal*, a position appointed by Louis IX.

(254) [king to Joinville]

Seneschal,	*seez*	*vous*	*ci.*	(*St. Louis*, 37)
Seneschal	sit down- 2Pl.Imp.	you-2Pl.Subj.	here	

'Seneschal, sit down here!'

We also find a few instances of the title *chevalier* 'knight', which was frequently attested in the texts of the 12th and 13th centuries.

(255) [sergeant (a traitor) to warriors]

Seingeurs	*chevaliers,*	*rendés*	*vous,*	*que*	*li*	*roys*
lords	knights	surrender-2Pl. Imp.	you-2Pl.	Conj.	the	king

le	*vous*	*mande…*	(*St. Louis*, 311)
that	you-2Pl.Obl.	order-3Sg.	

'Lords the knights, surrender yourselves because the king orders it'

In example (255), the title *chevalier* was accompanied by the term *seigneurs*, an honorific term conveying respect. The use of title, in addition to *seigneurs*, in this context shows once again that the speaker had the desire to highlight the position of the addressees. The tendency to use the term 'lord' with titles is also attested in other instances: *sire conte de Champaingne* 'lord count of Champagne' (*St. Louis*, 81), *sire chevalier* 'lord knight' (*St. Louis*, 91), *sire clerc* 'lord clerc' (*St. Louis*, 118). The combination of titles with *sire* was

used from the beginning of Old French period. In *La chanson de Roland*, for instance, we frequently observed the collective term of address *seigneurs baruns*; yet, in Old French, such terms of address were especially used for noblemen.

One of the occupational and respectful titles frequently seen in both *Vie de Saint Louis* and *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* is the title *mestre* or *maistre*, which was rarely attested in our Old French data. In contrast to previous occupational terms, *maistre* 'teacher', 'professional master', would not point to the political or powerful position of the addressee. On the other hand, as discussed earlier in this chapter, *maistre* was mostly a term of address for educated and intellectual people, especially in Middle French. In *Vie de Saint Louis*, *maistre* was a title for Robert de Sorbon, a theologian and the founder of the Sorbonne.

(256) [bishop to Robert de Sorbon]

Mestre,	*dites*	*vostre*	*volenté.*	(*St. Louis*, 46)
master	say- 2Pl.Imp.	your.2Pl.	will	

'Master, say what you desire to say'

(257) [King to Robert de Sorbon]

Maistre	*Robert,*	*je*	*vourroie*	*bien*	*avoir*	*le*
master	Robert	I	want-1Sg.Cond.	very well	have-Inf.	the

non	*de*	*preudomme….*	(*St. Louis*, 32)
title	of	gentleman	

'Master Robert, I would like to be called a good man'

Our observation is supported by Foulet (1950), who, referring to the use of the term *maistre* for Robert de Sorbon in the Chronicle of Joinville, points to the frequent use of

this title for high ranking theologians: “Tout ce qui touchait aux degrés supérieurs du monde des théologiens portait le titre de *maître*…” (Foulet 1950:199). In *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, on the other hand, *maistre* was an address term for Pathelin, the lawyer (11 inst.).

(258) [clothier to Pathelin]

Hau!	*maistre*	*Pierrë?*	(*Pathelin*, 5. 506)
Interj.	master	Pierre	

‘Hey, master (lawyer) Pierre!’

(259) [judge to Pathelin]

Je	*m’*	*en*	*vois.*	*Voulez-*	*vous*	*venir*
I	Refl.	Adv.	go-1Sg.	want-2Pl.	you-2Pl.Subj.	come-Inf.

souper	*avec*	*moy,*	*maistre*	*Pierre?*	(*Pathelin*, 8.1499-1500)
eat-Inf.	with	me	master	Pierre	

‘I’m going now. Do you want to have dinner with me, master (lawyer) Pierre?’

We also find a few instances where the clothier was also addressed by the term *maistre*[15] [4 inst.] (e.g. *mon doulx maistre* ‘my sweet master’[*Pathelin*, 5. 686]).

As we saw in the above examples, from both texts, the title *maitre* was preferably accompanied by the first name of the addressee. The use of the first name lessens the degree of formality of the context, which, in turn, increases the degree of friendship. In a study of address form in American English, Brown and Ford (1961) argue that the use of titles (e.g. *sir, madam, ma’am, and Miss* [1961: 378]) alone is more deferential than the

[15] It may be interesting to note that in Modern French, *maître* is still a title for learned persons such as lawyers, professors, or artists.

use of titles with last names: “The address form T[itle] is probably a degree less intimate and a degree more deferential than T[itle]L[ast]N[ame]” (Brown and Ford, 1961:378). The occasional use of names was also attested with the honorific term *messire*, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.6.1.2. Sire, Dame

In Old French, we found honorific terms like *sir* and *dame* as terms of address for upper class society and nobility. In later Middle French, these terms became general deferential terms of address. A tendency towards generalizing the meaning of the honorific *sire* however started in Old French. In *Vie de Saint Louis*, we still find the term *sire/ seigneurs/messire* (108 inst.) abundantly as an address term for God, the king or other high ranking people. One may hardly find any other terms of address (e.g. *roi, baron, chevalier, comte*, etc.) for the king or his surroundings.

(260) [counsil to king]

Sire,	*il*		*nous*	*semble*	*que*	*vous*		*perdés*	
lord	Impers. Subj.		to us	seem-3Sg.	that	you-2Pl.Subj.		lose-2Pl.	
la	*terre*	*que*	*vous*		*donnez*	*au*	*roy*	*d’*	
the	land	that	you-2Pl.Subj.		give-2Pl.	to the	king	of	
Angeterre…									(*St. Louis*, 65)
England									

‘Lord, it seems to us that you are losing the land that you give to the king of England’

(261) [knight to Joinville]

"Sire,	*fist*	*il*	*a*	*moy,*	*se*	*vous*	*ne*	*nous*
lord	do-3Sg.Perf.	he	to	me	if	you-2Pl.Subj.	not	us

aidiés,	*nous*	*sonmes*	*touz*	*ars…* (*St. Louis*, 208)
help-2Pl.	we	be-1Pl.	all	burned

'Lord, he told me, if you do not help us, we are all burned'

(262) [Joinville to his vassals and men]

"Seigneurs,	*je*	*m'*	*en*	*voiz*	*outre*	*mer,*	*et*	*je*	*ne*
lords	I	Refl.	Adv.	go-1Sg.	overseas		and	I	not

scé	*se*	*je*	*revendré.* (*St. Louis*, 111)
know-1Sg.	if	I	return- 1Sg.Fut.

'Lords, I' m going overseas and I do not know if I return'

The term *sire vilain* (*St. Louis*, 91) is also attested when a count addresses his confidant, a bourgeois. The term *vilain*, however, points to the inferiority of the addressee (see also Foulet 1950:185).

By contrast, in *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, the honorific terms like *sire/seigneur* (25 inst.) or *dame* (3 inst.) were not address terms only for privileged individuals. These polite terms could very well be used among ordinary people or middle class society (e.g. lawyer, clothier, etc), who were not necessarily from the nobility. Therefore, we see a major change in the use of these terms, which became general terms of respect without highlighting necessarily the social class or power of interlocutors (see also Stowell 1908).

(263) [judge to Pathelin]

Vous	*soyez*	*le*	*bien*	*venu,*	*sire.* (*Pathelin*, 8. 1217)
you-2Pl. Subj.	be- 2Pl.Subj.	the	well	coming	lord

'You are welcome, lord'

(264) [Pathelin to clothier]

Or,	*sire,*	*la*	*bonne*	*Laurence,*		
Conj.	lord	the	good	Laurence		
vostre	*belle*	*ante,*	*morurt-*	*elle ?*		(*Pathelin*, 2.158-159)
your-2Pl.	dear	aunt	die- 3Sg.Perf.	she?		

'Lord, the good Laurence, your dear aunt, did she die?'

(265) [clothier to the wife of Pathelin]

Dieu	*vous*	*gart,*	*dame!*	(*Pathelin*, 5.510)
God	you-2Pl.Obl.	keep- 3Sg.Subju.	lady	

'May god bless you, lady!'

The term *dame* or *ma dame* is seen in a few instances in *Vie de Saint Louis,* where the speaker would address the queen by the term *dame* 'lady' (*St. Louis,* 400) or refer to the queen by the term *ma dame* (e.g. *ma dame la royne* 'my lady the queen' [*St. Louis*, 419]). It seems that the term *dame* was still used for noble and powerful women at the beginning of the Middle French period; however, a decisive conclusion may not be possible due to the absence of various female addressees in the text. In addition, instances of honorifics *sire* or *dame* in combination with names are vanishingly rare.

3.6.2. Friendship Terms

We find the term *ami(e)* as a term expressing friendship between interlocutors in *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*.

(266) [clothier to Pathelin's wife]

Savez- vous qu' il est, belle amye ?
know-2Pl. you-2Pl.Subj. what it be-3Sg. dear friend

M' aist Dieu, je ne scay quel
me help- 3Sg.Subju. God I not know-1Sg. what

mesprendre ... (*Pathelin*, 5.816-817)
be mistaken-Inf.

"Do you know what is it, dear friend? May God help me; I don't know what is done wrongly!'

(267) [judge to shepherd]

Va- t' en, mon amy; [...] *La Court t'*
go- 2Sg.Imp. you-2Sg. there my friend the court you.2Sg.Obl.

assoult, entends - tu bien ? (Pathelin, 8.1490,1492)
liberate.3Sg. hear.2Sg. you.2Sg.Subj. well

'Go, my friend! [...] The court liberates you. Do you understand? '

In a way similar to honorific terms (i.e. *sire, dame*), in Middle French, especially in the 15th century, *ami/amie* became a term expressing friendship used by people of all social classes. In example (267), we even witness the use of term *mon amy* 'my friend' to address an individual from deprived social class. Its usage, however, could be triggered by the pity and sympathy of the speaker for the addressee. It may also be important to note that in the above examples, the term *amy/amye* could be accompanied by flattering and affectionate adjectives (e.g. *bele*). Additionally, as in Early Old French period, the term *mon amy* 'my friend' is also seen as a term of address for husband (*Pathelin*, 1. 88). Similarly, *compains* 'companion' is found in one instance when Pathelin addresses the

shepherd. The use of *compains* in such context, as in example (268), could once again be triggered by pity rather than friendship.

(268) *Dieu* *te* *gard!* *compains.* *Que*
God you-2Sg.Obl. protect- 3Sg.Subju. companion what

te *fault?* (*Pathelin*, 7. 1072)
you-2Sg. Obl. need-3Sg. Impers.

'May God protect you, companion, what do you need?'

Although we did not find any terms expressing friendship in *Vie de Saint Louis*, we found the term *frere* 'brother' (e.g. *frere Raoul* 'brother Raoul' [*St. Louis*, 402]) as a term of address for a preacher (see also Foulet 1950:199). The term *frere* in religious contexts would certainly indicate brotherhood between interlocutors.

While titles are meant to be used for negative politeness, friendship terms are supposed to be features of positive politeness. However, in example (266), the use of pronoun of respect and the term *amy* in the same context once again show the combination of two opposite strategies.

3.6.3. Adjectives

Adjectives are again used as a vehicle to flatter and praise the addressee. The adjectives of Middle French are identical to those found in Old French texts. We find the adjectives of endearment such as *beau, biax/ belle* and *doulz* and the possessive adjectives. In *Vie de Saint Louis*, we only found a few instances of positive adjectives. The adjective *biau* is found in prayers as it is presented in example (269), and in instances when the king addresses his son by the term *biau filz* 'dear son' (*St. Louis*, 21).

(269) *Biau* *Sire* *Diex,* *gardez* *moy* *ma* *gent!*
dear lord God keep- 2Pl.Imp. for me my people

(*St. Louis*, 207)

'Dear lord God, protect my people'

The use of adjectives in prayers may not be surprising. Since the Latin period, we have seen the tendency of speakers to praise the addressee for whom they have a request.

In *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, however, the number of adjectives of endearment, in combination with terms of address, increases.

(270) [Pathelin's wife (Guillemette) to clothier]

Helas! *venez* *le* *veoir,* *beau* *sire...* (*Pathelin*, 5.628)
Interj. come- 2Pl.Imp. him see-Inf. dear lord

'Alas, dear lord, come and see him'

The adjective *belle* occurs with *dame* (*Pathelin* 1.73) and *amye* (see example 266). However, unlike Old French, the occurrence of adjective *beau/belle* with terms of address is not common. Consequently, we do not think that these adjectives could form any compound nouns in Middle French either.

On the other hand, the adjective *doulz* 'sweet', which was rarely attested in Old French, gains ground. However, we argued that adjectives in Old French would appear in an established order (see Love 1985). The adjective *doux* (i.e *douz*, *doulz*, *doulx)* would always precede the noun. Although in our Middle French data, we find examples such as *doulce damiselle* (*Pathelin*, 5.848), *mon doulx maistre* (*Pathelin*,7.1084), we also find instances where the adjective *doulx* follows the noun, as in the following example.

(271) [shepherd to clothier]

Dieu	*vous*	*doint*	*benoiste*	*journee*
God	you-2Pl.Obl.	give- 3Sg.Subju.	blessing	day

et	*bon*	*vesper,*	*mon*	*seigneur*	*doulx*
and	good	evening	my	lord	sweet

(*Pathelin*, 6.1017-1018)

'May God give you a blessing day and a good evening, my sweet lord'

As in Old French, a Middle French speaker could be more flattering by combining several adjectives. In our data, we especially observe the combination of a positive or descriptive adjective and a possessive adjective rather than the combination of several positive adjectives. The possessive adjective *mon* 'my' continues to function as an adjective of endearment. In *Vie de Saint Louis*, we may occasionally find the term of address *messire* 'my lord' (e.g. *Messire Erart* [*St. Louis*, 226]) as a single word of address and the term *mon seigneur* 'my lord' (e.g. *Mon seigneur Gaucher de Chasteillon* [*St. Louis*, 256]) as a referential term. According to Foulet (1950), in the 14th century, the term *messire* was exclusively used to designate *chevaliers* 'knights'. As for the following century, we find the abundant use of the possessive adjective *mon* with terms of address in *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*.

(272) [shepherd to clothier]

Il	*m'*	*a*	*parlé*	*de*	*vous,*	*mon*	*maistre.*
he	(to) me	have- 1Sg.Aux.	told-Part.	of	you-2Pl.	my	master

(*Pathelin*, 7.1027)

'He told me about you, my master'

As discussed previously, the nominative *messire,* which was a term of address, gradually replaced by its oblique form *mon seigneur*. We contend that this change happens in the 15th century because in *Vie de Saint Louis*, a text from the 14th century, *messire* is still employed in the nominative case (i.e. term of address) and *mon seigneur* is still used in oblique case (i.e. referential address). However, it is not clear whether, in the 15thcentury, the adjective *mon* and the term *seigneur* would form two separate terms or a single term since in one instance we find the separation of the terms *mon* and *seigneur* by the adjective bon 'good'.

(273) [shepherd to clothier]

Ne	*croiez*	*pas*	*les*	*mesdisans*
not	believe- 2Pl.Imp.	Neg.	the	slanderers

mon	*bon*	*seigneur* ...	(*Pathelin*, 6.1046)
my	good	lord	

'Do not believe the slanderers, my good lord'

Unlike the Old French period, the adjective *ma* is rarely attested in Middle French. For instance, the frequent term *ma dame* of Old French is only attested in a few instances of *Vie de Saint Louis* referring to the queen. In addition, for the first time, we find the use of a third person term (i.e. *son seigneur*) as a term of address in the opening of the letter of Joinville to the son of the king.

(274)

A	*son*	*bon*	*seigneur*	*Looÿs,*	*filz*	*du*	*roy*	*de*	*France,*
to	his	good	lord	Louis	son	of the	king	of	France

par	*la*	*grace*	*de*	*Dieu*	*roy*	*de*	*Navarre,*	*de*	*Champaigne*
by	the	grace	of	God	king	of	Navarre	of	Champagne

et	*de*	*Brie*	*conte*	*palazin,*	*Jehan,*	*sire*	*de*
and	of	Brie	count	palatin	Jean	sir	of

Joinville,	*son*	*seneschal*	*de*	*Champaigne,*	*salut*	*et*	*amour*
Joinville	his	seneschal	of	Champagne	salutation	and	love

et	*honneur*	*et*	*son*	*servise*	*appareillé.*	(*St. Loius*, 1)
and	honor	and	his	service	prepared	

'To his good lord, Louis, son of the king of France, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Count Palatine of Champagne and Brie, Jean, Lord of Joinville, his seneschal of Champagne, greeting , love, honor and his ready and willing service'

In many contemporary languages, the use of third person pronouns or third person verbs, as address forms, may not be unusual. In Italian, for instance, *Lei* 'she/her' or *Loro* 'they' are polite address forms. Additionally, in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, abstract terms like *Your Honour* are used with the third person verb in a polite context (Harris, 1978:123-124).

On the basis of our Middle French data, we propose that there was a change in the use of terms of address in the 15th century. The polite terms of address gain general meanings and they are no longer reserved for upper class society. Moreover, our examples also show that these terms not only are used among ordinary people of all social classes, but that they can also be terms of address for inferiors. We should also point to the co-occurrence of positive and negative politeness strategies in several contexts. The simultaneous occurrence of friendship terms or adjectives of endearment, indicating positive politeness, with honorifics, indicating negative politeness, in the same context (see examples [266], [272]), once more indicate the strong tendency towards the "mixture of strategies" (see Brown and Levinson 1987) in Medieval French. However,

we reiterate that the use of flattering or endearing adjectives may not imply a positive politeness strategy. Rather, the lexical terms accompanied by these adjectives are determining factors in terms of strategies of politeness. adjectives of endearment can indicate positive politeness strategy if they modify friendship terms; on the other hand, if they accompany honorifics, they can only present a negative politeness strategy. As Brown and Levinson (1987) also argue, in the mixture of linguistic elements of the two strategies, the outcome can still represent one of the strategies: "When token tag questions are tacked on to a presumptuous positively polite request, for example, or when hedges (e.g. *like*, *sort of*) are used to render more vague the expression of an extreme positive-politeness opinion, the results are basically still positive-politeness strategies, even though they make use of essentially negative-politeness techniques to soften the presumption" (Brown and Levinson 1987:230).

3.6.4. Polite Expressions and Structures

In addition to terms of address, other polite linguistic devices, which are used in various polite strategies, are also detected in Middle French data. The usage of polite structures and expressions, other than terms of address, increased in the 13th century. Consequently, in the 14th and especially the 15th century, we find a greater frequency and variety in the use of polite linguistic devices in our data.

One of the strategies frequently employed since Latin is, of course, 'begging the addressee'. This strategy is equally found in Middle French when the speaker has a

request. As we also attested previously, the verb *prier* 'to beg' or 'to ask' is mostly used in those instances.

(275) [Saracen to Joinville]

[...] mez je vous pri, sire, que cest enfant que
but I you-2Pl.Obl. beg-1Sg. lord that this child that

vous avez avec vous, que vous le
you-2Pl.Subj. have-2Pl. with you-2Pl.Obl. that you-2Pl.Subj. him

tenez tous jour par le poing, que les Sarrazins ne
hold-2Pl. all day by the hand Conj. the Saracens not

le vous toillent. (*St. Louis*, 332)
him you-2Pl.Obl. take away-3Pl.Subju.

'[...] but, I beg you, lord, to always hold the hand of this child that you have with you, so that the Saracens do not take him away from you'

(276) [shepherd to Pathelin]

Mon seigneur, se je ne vous paye
my lord if I not you-2Pl.Obl. pay-1Sg.

a vostre mot, ne me croiez
at your-2Pl. word not me think-2Pl.

jamais ; mais, je vous pri, voiez
never but I you-2Pl.Obl. beg-1Sg. see-2Pl.

diligemment a ma besongne. (*Pathelin*, 7.1195-1198)
diligently Prep. my need

'My lord, if I don't pay you at your order, don't ever think anything about me. I beg you to diligently consider my need'

Similarly, begging or requesting can be made by using the expression *s'il te plaist/plet* or *s'il vous plaist/plet* (i.e. *s'il te/ vous plaît* in Modern French) 'if it pleases you'/ 'please'.

(277) [shepherd to Pathelin]

[…] *et s' il vous plaist, vous i*
Conj. if it you-2Pl.Obl. please-3Sg. you-2Pl.Subj. there

vendrez mon doulx maistre; et me deffendre...
come- 2Pl.Fut. my sweet master and me defend-2Pl.Fut.

(*Pathelin* 7.1076-1077)

'Please, come and defend me, my sweet master (lawyer)'

(278) [sergeant to Joinville]

Sire, je vous amende de ce que je mis
lord I you-2Pl.Obl. compensate.1Sg. of this that I put-1Sg.

ma main a vous, et vous ai
my hand Prep. you-2Pl.Obl. and you-2Pl.Obl. have- 1Sg.Aux.

aportee ceste epee pour ce que vous me
brought- Part. this sword for this that you-2Pl.Subj. me

copez le poing, se I vous plet. (*St. Louis*, 510)
cut-2Pl. the hand if it you-2Pl.Obl. please-3Sg.

'Lord, I compensate for that I put my hand on you, and therefore I brought this sword for you, so that you cut my hand, if it pleases you'

As we discussed in previous section, *s'il te/vous plaît* can be equal to English 'if clause', a hedge (see chapter 2) occurring in polite contexts (see Brown and Levinson 1987). Other hedges are attested in *Vie de Saint Louis* as well. The following examples are instances of both impersonal constructions and variety of hedges used by Joinville in the 14th century. It should be recalled that hedges and impersonal constructions are features of negative politeness.

(279) [Joinville to Erart de Sivry]

Messire Erart, il me semble que vous feriés
master Erart it (to) me seem-3Sg. that you-2Pl.Subj. do- 2Pl.Cond.

vostre grant honeur se vous nous aliés
your-2Pl. great honor if you-2Pl.Subj. for us go- 2Pl.Subj.

querre aide pour nos vies sauver… (*St. Louis*, 226)
search-Inf. help for our lives save-Inf.

'Master Erart, it seems to me that it would be a great honor for you if you go and look for a help (for us) to save our lives'

(280) [Joinville to count of Soissons]

Sire, je croi que vous feriés bien se
lord I think that you-2Pl.Subj. do- 2Pl.Cond. well if

vous demouriés a ce poncel garder ...
you-2Pl.Subj. stay- 2Pl.Cond. at this little bridge keep-Inf.

(*St. Louis*, 238)

'Lord, I think that you would do a favor if you stay and keep this little bridge'

In example (279), we find the expression *il me semble que* 'it seems to me'. The verbs in expressions such as *it seems (to me)* or *it appears (to me*) are known as impersonal verbs[16] (Brown and Levinson 1987: 191-192). Impersonal constructions, as we mentioned in the previous chapter, are, in fact, structures that are used in polite contexts because these structures help detouring the direct attention from both speakers and addressees: "One way of indicating that S [speaker] doesn't want to impinge on H

[16] A dative agent (e.g.'to me') is however present in these structures (see Brown and Levinson 1987:191-192).

[hearer] is to phrase the FTA [face-threatening act] as if the agent were other than S, or at least possibly not S or not S alone, and the addressee were other than H, or only inclusive of H. This results in a variety of ways of avoiding the pronoun 'I' and 'you'"(Brown and Levinson 1987:190). The expression *je croi*[s] 'I think', in example (280), on the other hand, is categorized as a hedge, according to Brown and Levinson (1987). The authors argue that the use of such expressions would lessen the imposition on the addressee by being doubtful about the addressee's ability or willingness to do what the speaker has in mind (Brown and Levinson 1987:145-146).

The use of the conditional in examples (279) and (280) should also be noted. In *Vie de Saint Louis*, the conditional is frequently used by the author. We know that the conditional, which expresses a hypothetical statement, is one of the linguistic devices of politeness in Modern French to make a request, ask a question, or express speakers' wishes. Brown and Levinson (1978:173) point to the one of the negative politeness strategies, namely 'be pessimistic'. In examples given by the authors for this strategy, the English modal verbs in conditional are used in indirect requests (e.g. *Could/Would/Might you do X?* [1987:173]). English modal verbs in conditional create hypothetical circumstances, where the speaker is doubtful and hesitant about his assumption, which, in turn, give more freedom to the hearer in his/her respond or action: "This strategy [i.e. be pessimistic] gives redress to H [hearer]'s negative face by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of S [speaker]'s speech act obtain" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 173). On the basis of our data, we suggest that impersonal constructions,

conditional mood, and hedges emerged, in Middle French, as new linguistic features of politeness.

Another strategy detected in Middle French that was not seen abundantly in previous centuries is 'asking questions'. In most instances, by asking polite questions, the speaker indirectly conveys his/her message to the addressee, asks for the addressee's desire and opinion, or gives orders.

(259)/(281) [judge to Pathelin]

Je	*m'*	*en*	*vois.*	*Voulez-*	*vous*	*venir*
I	Refl.	Adv.	go-1Sg.	want- 2Pl.	you-2Pl.Subj.	come-Inf.

souper	*avec*	*moy,*	*maistre-*	*Pierre ?*	(*Pathelin,* 8. 1499-1500)
eat-Inf.	with	me	master	Pierre.	

'I'm going now. Do you want to have dinner with me, master (lawyer) Pierre?'

(282) [clothier to Pathelin]

Par	*Dieu,*	*vous*	*dittes*	*que*	*bon*	*homme,*
by	God	you-2Pl.Subj.	say-2Pl.	as	good	man

et	*m'*	*en*	*avés*	*bien*	*resjouÿ*
and	me	Pron.	have-2Pl.	well	delighted-Part.

voulés-	*vous*	*a*	*ung*	*mot?*	(*Pathelin,* 2.234-235)
want- 2Pl.	you-2Pl.Subj.	in	one	word	

'For God's sake, you talk like a good man and I am delighted. Do you want my (last) word on it?'

In *Vie de Saint Louis*, in many instances, the speaker, instead of using interrogative structures, formulates indirect requests by using phrases such as *je vous demande se*… 'I ask you if…'(*St. Louis*, 51) and *je vous veil demander se* … 'I want to ask you if…' (*St.*

Louis, 35). The use of 'if-clause' in these expressions will help reducing the imposition on the addressee.

Depending on the context and the way the speaker formulates his/her request, 'asking questions' can be a strategy of both negative and positive politeness. For instance, example (281) is an example of invitation between friends. We may therefore expect that the speaker leans towards the positive politeness strategy. Yet, the use of the pronoun of respect *vous* indicates the formality of the contexts and the implementation of a negative politeness strategy. Consequently, it may not be possible to relate one specific strategy to the above contexts. It should be noted that interrogatives are also found in greetings as in the following example:

(283) Pathelin : [...] *Comment* *vous* *va ?*
how you-2Pl. go-3Sg.

'How are you?'

clothier: *Et* *bien,* *vrayement,*
Conj. well really

a *vostre* *bon* *commandement.*
at your.2Pl. good command

Et *vous?*
and you-2Pl.

'Well, really, at your good command. And you?'

Pathelin: *Par* *sainct* *Pierre* *l'* *apostre,*
by saint Peter the apostle

comme *celluy* *qui* *est* *tout* *vostre.*
like somebody who be-3Sg. completely yours-2Pl.

Ainsi, vous esbatez? (*Pathelin*, 2.107-114)
well your-2Pl.Subj. have fun-2Pl.

'In the name of Saint –Peter- Apostle, I'm completely yours.
Well, do you have fun?'

Other forms of 'Greetings' are occasionally seen in the data (e.g. *a Dieu* 'goodbye' (*Pathelin*, 3. 329).

In passing, we should also note the use of the expression *par Dieu*… 'for God's sake' (see examples 282). This expression or similar expressions (e.g. *par Sainct Jaques, par Saincte Marie, par Saint Jehan, par Saint Pierre, par Nostre Dame*, etc.) are abundantly used in *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*. A few instances of such expressions are found in *Vie de Saint Alexis* as well. By swearing to God or saints, the speaker either wants to show the sincerity of his statement or s/he may ask the addressee to respond to his/her request for the respect and love that the addressee has for God or saints. In the following examples, for instance, the speaker uses this strategy to make a request or give orders.

(284) [Guillemette to clothier]

Helas! Sire, pour Dieu! se vous voulez rien
Interj. lord for God if you-2Pl.Subj. want-2Pl. nothing

dire, parlez plus bas. (*Pathelin*, 5. 507-509)
say.Inf. speak- 2Pl.Imp. more low

'Alas lord, for God's sake, if you want to say anything, say it lower'

(285) [Pathelin to judge]

Pour	*Dieu,*	*faictes-*	*le*	*proceder.*	(*Pathelin*, 8. 1260)
for	God	make- 2Pl.Imp.	that	proceed-Inf.	

'For God's sake, make it proceed'

(286) [queen to warriors]

Seigneurs,	*Pour*	*Dieu*	*merci,*	*ne*	*lessiés*	*pas*	*ceste*	*ville…*
lords	for	God	mercy	not	leave.2Pl.	Neg.	this	city

(*St. Louis*, 399)

'Lords, for the mercy of God, do not leave this city'

Brown and Levinson (1978:133), talking about one of the negative politeness strategies, "Be conventionally indirect", briefly, argue that the "insertion of exclamatory expressions" shows the effort of the speaker to be indirect**:**

(287) *Why {for God's sake/in the world/ in Christ's name/ the hell} are you painting your house purple?!* (Brown and Levinson 1987:133)

Similarly, these expressions could be used to show the surprise of the speaker in a polite way.

(288) [Pathelin to clothier]

Non	*fera!*	*Vingt*	*et*	*quattre*	*solz ?*	*Sainct*	*Dame!*
not	make- 3Sg.Fut.	twenty	and	four	sous	saint	Mary

(*Pathelin*, 2. 238)

'No! Twenty-four sous? Saint Mary!'

In both Old and Middle French (see example 283), these expressions could appear in 'greetings' as well. Dupin (1906: 18-21) shows that in Old French, the speaker would use his/her religious belief in salutations to especially intervene God in every day's wishes:

" En outre, ce salut avait alors un sens précis et fort [...] et faisait intervenir Dieu dans les souhaits de vie, de santé, de bonheur, qu'il exprimait" (1906: 21).

As in previous centuries, we also find instances where imperatives are used by speakers in order to give advice or friendly warning. As mentioned earlier, from this perspective, the use of direct imperative, which can be polite, is attributed to the 'bald-on-record' strategy (see Brown and Levinson 1987).

(289) [king to Joinville]

Or	*soiés*	*tout*	*aise,*	*dit*	*il,*	*car*	
now	be-2Pl.Subju.Imp.	completely	happy	say-3Sg.	he	because	
je	*vous*	*sai*	*moult*	*bon*	*gré*	*de*	*ce*
I	you- 2Pl.Obl.	know-1Sg.	much	good	gratitude	of	this
que	*vous*	*m'*	*avez*	*loé…*	(*St. Louis*, 433)		
that	you-2Pl.Subj.	me	have- 2Pl.Aux.	advised-Part.			

'Now, do not worry, he says, because I'm very grateful to you for your advice'

(290) [knight to queen]

Dame,	*n'*	*aiés*	*garde,*	*car*	*je*	*sui*	*ci.*
lady	not	have. 2Pl.Subju.Imp.	fear	because	I	be-1Sg.	here

(*St. Louis*, 397)

'Lady, don't fear because I am here'

(291) [high ranking official to king]

Sire,	*sire,*	*Parlés*	*a*	*votre*	*frere*	*le*	*conte*	*de*
lord	lord	talk- 2Pl.Imp.	to	your.2Sg.	brother	the	count	of
Poitiers…					(*St. Louis*, 389)			
Poitiers								

'Lord, lord, talk to your brother, the count of Poitiers'

However, in some instances, we see the use of honorifics in combination with imperatives. Although the use of imperatives to give advice or warnings may seem polite, imperatives are considered vehicles to express the intention of the speaker directly. On the other hand, honorifics, according to Brown and Levinson's theory (1987), are linguistic devices that belong to negative politeness, where the speaker usually avoids directness. Therefore, once again, we observe the co-occurrence of two different strategies.

In addition, the imperative, as it is argued by Brown and Levinson (1987), is also used in expressions of 'apology' such as 'excuse me', 'forgive me', etc. In fact, 'thanking' and 'apologizing', using appropriate verbs (e.g. *remercier* 'to thank', *pardonner* 'to forgive'), are also among strategies of politeness in Middle French.

(292) [Pathelin's wife (Guillemette) to clothier]

Pardonnez-	*moy,*	*je*	*n'*	*ose*	*parler*	*hault:*	*je*
excuse-2Pl.	me	I	not	dare-1Sg.	talk	loudly	I

croy	*qu'*	*il*	*repose...*	(*Pathelin*, 5. 517-518)
think-1Sg.	that	he	rest-3Sg.	

'Forgive-me, I cannot talk loudly; I think that he is resting'

(293) [king to his high ranking officials]

Seigneurs,	*fist*	*il,*	*je*	*vous*		*merci*	*moult*
lords	say- 3Sg.Perf.	he	I	you- 2Pl.Obl.		thank-1Sg.	very much

a	*touz*	*ceulz*	*qui*	*m'*	*ont*	*loé*
to	all	the ones	who	me	have- 3Pl.Aux.	advised- Part.

m'	*alee*	*en*	*France,*	*et*	*si*	*rens*	*graces*
my	departure	to	France	and	Adv.	return-1Sg.	thanks

aussi *a* *ceulz* *qui* *m'* *ont* *loé* *ma*
also to the ones who me have- 3Pl.Aux. advised-Part. my

demouree. (*St. Louis*, 436)
staying

'Lords, he said, I thank very much the ones who have advised me to go to France and I also give thanks to the ones who have advised me to stay'

Old strategies such as 'praising the addressee' continue to be used in Middle French as well. 'Praising' could be done by reminding the addressee of his/her good quality (see example [282]); however, unlike previous centuries, this strategy is not commonly seen in the data of Middle French. The expression *volentiers* 'with pleasure' (*St. Louis*, 238) is also among polite expressions employed in Middle French when the speaker wants to show his/her admission of the addressee's demand or request.

The study of the Middle French data shows us that polite linguistic features increase in Middle French. In addition to the linguistic devices and strategies seen in previous centuries, we also see the emergence of new linguistic structures and expressions in Middle French. More importantly, in Middle French, honorifics start to become terms of address for ordinary people, who are not from the upper classes or nobility. Yet, there was no clear distinction between politness strategies in Middle French where linguistic devices that are normally used for positive politeness strategies could co-occur with the linguistic devices used for negative politeness strategies in the same context.

3.7. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have analyzed polite linguistic features in the absence of a pronominal system in Latin and Medieval French. In our analysis of the master-slave relationship in the earliest texts of Latin, we have found a low number of polite linguistic devices. We have been able to detect a few polite terms for masters (e.g. *erus*, *dominus*), which were mostly used to identify the owner of the slave rather than to express respect towards the master. Yet, the use of general and neutral terms (e.g. *senex*) along with the use of first names to address masters or to refer to them indicate that, generally, power was not a triggering factor for the use of a deferential language at early periods. Yet, in early times, polite language was used in friendly relationships between two friends or between masters and their confident slaves. Using descriptive adjectives (e.g. *mulierem lepidam*) or the possessive adjective *mi* with terms of address could help the speaker to show his/her deference. To express respect towards gods, on the other hand, the speaker would use kinship terms. In later Latin, on the other hand, we have found the use of deferential terms such as occupational terms or titles (e.g. *magister, emperere*, etc) and double names between friends, colleagues, and superiors. Respect and deference could be mainly conveyed through formality in upper class society. In less formal situations, however, the speaker could use adjectives of endearment (e.g. *carissime*, *bellus*, *mi*, etc), or friendship terms (e.g. *amici*).

In addition to terms of address, impersonal structures (e.g. *licet*), imperatives to give friendly warnings or advice, hedges (e.g. 'if- clause'), subjunctives, and verbs of request (e.g. *peto* 'to ask', *hortor* 'to urge', 'to encourage', etc.) were among common

linguistic structures of Latin. In terms of politeness strategy, there was a tendency towards positive politeness strategies in early periods. Yet, in later centuries, the high level of formality indicates the use of negative politeness strategies. It should be recalled that 'praising' and 'begging' were two important strategies of negative politeness in Latin.

In the Early Old French and Old French periods, the power of the addressee and the social class of both the speaker and the addressee would initiate politeness. Politeness was especially attested in the language of nobles and it was in close association with formality. Keeping the context formal was the priority of a respectful speaker. Latin linguistic devices and strategies of politeness appear also in Medieval French; yet, they started to be used in greater frequency since the end of the Old French period. Throughout all centuries, polite forms of address were predominant. Titles or occupational terms (e.g. *roi, emperor, chevaliers, barons, vassal*, etc.) and honorifics (e.g. *sire/seigneur, dame*) emerged as the inevitable components of politeness. Friendship terms were also found from the 9th century on. Their occurrence, however, increases in Old and Middle French data. Terms of address could subsequently be modified by positive adjectives (e.g. *Franc, dreiz*, etc), or adjectives of endearment (e.g. *bel/biaux, doulz, chiers, mes/ mon*). Among linguistic structures and expressions, imperatives to give advice or warnings, interrogatives, appropriate verbs for thanking, apologizing, or begging, and appropriate structures or adjectives to praise the addressee could be mentioned.

Around the 15th century, however, we observe an evolution in the use of linguistic devices. Honorifics (e.g. *sire/seigneur, dame*) that once were terms of address for noble people became general forms of address spreading among citizens of middle class society. Old French friendship terms, and adjectives of endearment (e.g. *bel/biax, chiers, doulz, mon*), on the other hand, continue to be used in Middle French. Yet, the term of address *sire* is gradually replaced by its oblique form *seigneur*. The frequent use of the possessive adjective *mon* with the term *seigneur* in Middle French, then, originates the contemporary term of address *monsieur*.

Apart from forms of address, in Middle French, we have observed the rise of new linguistic structures and expressions (e.g. *conditional, s'il vous plaît, il me semble que, je crois que, je vous demande si, volontiers, etc.*) that are developed as polite linguistic elements of French. In addition, interrogatives could be found to give indirect orders as in today's French. Likewise, verbs for 'thanking', 'apologizing' or 'begging' (e.g. *remercier, pardonner, prier*), as in contemporary French, started to be used in Middle French, although their first appearances were in Old French. Our data, therefore, indicate that several polite linguistic devices that we use in Modern French could be originated in 15th century French. In Middle French, once again, negative politeness was a preferred strategy of politeness because, as in previous centuries, the formality of the context needed to be respected.

We should acknowledge that there is a contradiction between our findings and the existing studies of politeness. In our analysis, the characteristic of the relationship between interlocutors in early periods and the social class of both the speaker and the

addressee in later periods determine politeness. Politeness, since 2nd BC Latin to 15th century French, could be defined by formality. A casual and informal language was not a norm between speakers and addressees of the upper classes even in the friendliest relationships. Watts (2003) and Ehlich (2005), on the other hand, associate politeness with the language of certain social groups in the 16th and the 17th centuries of Western Europe (see chapter 2), while the relation between social status and politeness in earlier periods was ignored in their studies. In the present study, we have not covered the Classical period of French, but the data from the 15th century French show the transmission of polite address forms from upper to middle class society. Therefore, we claim that the association between social class and politeness took place in Latin, and paradoxally, this association was going to disappear in late Middle French.

Most importantly, our data do not support certain aspects of the universality theory of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). First, expressing politeness through ambiguity and indirection (i.e. "off record" strategy) was not attested in Latin and Medieval French. Second, Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that, universally**,** all languages have two strategies of politeness when the communicative intention is clear (i.e."on record with redressive action" strategies): positive politeness, used for informal settings, and negative politeness, used in formal settings. The authors then attribute certain linguistic devices to these strategies. While we find similar linguistic structures or expressions that Brown and Levinson present in their study, in many instances, we could not relate the linguistic features to a specific strategy of politeness suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987) because linguistic devices that normally were related to negative

politeness or positive politeness could co-occur in the same context. Even though Brown and Levinson (Brown and Levinson 1987:230) point to the possible "mixture of strategies," the common and frequent co-occurrence of linguistic devices representing different strategies in our data suggests that their theory of politeness strategies, generally, may not be applicable to Latin and Medieval French (see also Hall 2009:7). In addition, the main strategies of Latin, which survived in Early Old French and Old French periods (e.g. 'praising' and 'begging'), are not taken into account or truly analyzed in the universality theory of politeness. Consequently, we conclude that the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) can only partially be supported by our data.

Chapter 4. The T/V Pronominal System

Examination of many languages indicates that a large number of languages have more than one pronoun to address a single addressee. In such pronominal systems, one or more pronouns are normally used in informal settings and one or more pronouns are reserved for formal and polite settings. T/V pronouns or T/V pronominal systems, in which T (Lat./Fr. [French] *tu*) represents the informal pronoun and V (Lat./Fr. *vos*) represents the formal and polite pronoun (Braun 1988), are generally used to refer to pronominal systems with distinct address pronouns. By using a deferential pronoun of address, speakers can express politeness without using titles, honorific terms, or occupational terms.

T/V pronouns can be found among languages that are closely related such as Romance languages, or languages that are not related (e.g. French, German, Swedish, Persian, Tamil, Arabic, etc. [Clyne et al. 2003, Head 1978, Helmbrecht 2003]). The universal tendency towards the creation of a T/V pronominal system has become the focus of many studies. Linguists have tried for years to find an answer as to why so many languages develop a distinctive pronoun of respect through similar processes. While some of the existing hypotheses explain pragmatic and social factors behind the development of a pronoun of respect, they are not concerned with the etymological backgrounds of the pronouns. It is our belief that we should not exclusively rely on a synchronic analysis of the pronoun of respect in a given language without conducting diachronic research. A diachronic study allows us to find out about the origin of the

pronoun, the social factors resulting in its emergence, and its various forms and functions over time.

In this chapter, we will, therefore, briefly review the literature on the deferential pronouns of address across languages before comparing the pronominal address system in Latin and Romance languages, and, most importantly, we will study the use of *tu* (i.e. familiar *you*) and *vous* (i.e. formal and polite *you*) in Medieval French. Our goal is not just to review the existing literature in this chapter, but rather to evaluate the T/V system in Latin and Medieval French. The next chapter presents our own original findings which show a dramatic change in our perspective of the T/V pronominal system in Medieval French.

4.1. WIDESPREAD FORMS OF DEFERENTIAL PRONOUNS

Head (1978) examines the degree of respect in the pronominal systems of 100 languages. He argues that variation of number (i.e. singular vs. plural) to show respect or social distance is the most common process among languages (1978:151). He has listed 84 languages[17], including French, as languages in which the second person plural has developed as an alternative address pronoun to indicate respect or social distance towards a single addressee (1978: 156-157). The following example is an instance of the polite or formal use of the second person plural in French:

[17]Languages in which the second person plural represents the deferential pronoun for a single addressee: Armharic, Arabic, Basque, Bengali, Bulgarian, Catalan, Chagatay, Changana, Chinyanja, Chitumbuka, Czech, Danish, Dari, Dutch, Eastern Pomo, Estonian, Faroese, Fijian, Finnish, French, Galla, Gbaya, German, Gilyak, Greek, Gujarati, Harari, Hindi, Icelandic, Ila, Indonesian, Indo-Portuguese Creole, Italian, Java Portuguese Creole, Kanarese, Kannada, Kapampangan, kefa, Khasi, Lala,Lamba, Latin, Latvian, Lithuanian, Malagasy, Malay, Malayalam, Mandarin Chinese, Mande, Marathi, Moré, Nepali, Noerwegian, Nsenga, Nyamwesi, Nyanja, Papiamento, Persian, Philippine Spanish Creole, Polish, Portuguese, Provençal, Romanian, Russian, Sango, Sanskrit, Serbo-Croatian, Shona, Sindhai, Spanish, Sukuma, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Tigrinya, Tulu, Turkish, Urdu, Welamo, Welsh, Wisa, Yiddish, and Yoruba (Head 1978: 157).

(294) *Voulez-* *vous* *du* *thé ?*
want-2Pl. you-2Pl.Subj. Art. tea

'Do you want tea?'

It should be mentioned that, in addition to personal pronouns, the grammatical number of possessive pronoun in languages with a T/V system, generally, varies in polite contexts. For instance, the second person plural may express respect or deference, as in French *Votre Majesté* or Spanish *Vuestra Majested* 'your-2Pl. majesty' (Head 1978:184). In a few languages (e.g. Navaho, Mota, and Tikopia), the dual is used as the form of the pronoun of respect instead of the second plural (Head 1978: 158). Therefore, the observation of Head (1978) led him to claim that the variation of number in second person pronoun is a universal tendency towards the formation of a deferential pronoun:

> […] the non-singular (plural or dual) shows greater respect or social distance than does the singular. In view of its genetic and geographic range, the list [i.e. the list of languages] suggests that this semantic process—use of the non-singular for polite address of an individual—is neither a characteristic of particular groups or families of languages nor limited to a single area of the world (although it seems to be rare in indigenous languages of North and South America): it appears to be a universal tendency.
>
> (Head 1978: 158)

From this perspective, the lack of a plural pronoun as a deferential pronoun in a given language can be blamed on the lack of grammatical distinction between singular and plural in the pronominal system of that language or the special social condition of the society which prevents the development of an alternative form of address pronoun (e.g. pidgins and creoles; Head 1978: 159-161). Although the second person plural is marked as a pronoun showing respect or distance in so many languages, its usage and forms may vary from one society to another. In many languages, as we will discuss later, the plural

pronoun may lose its respectful meaning over time and be replaced by new plural forms (e.g. Turkish, Basque and Bengali, etc.), conveying greater respect or social distance (see Head 1978: 159-162).

The process of 'pluralization' has become so widespread that, in some languages, we find the use of the third person plural to show respect or distance towards a single referent (e.g. Bengali, German, Persian, Russian, Tamil, etc.) (see Head 1978:162, Joseph 1987:262-263, Brown and Levinson 1987:180). The following example from Persian illustrates this.

(295) *ostad-e* *ma* , *išan* *goftand.*
professor-Poss. we they said-3Pl. Perf.

'Our professor, they said'

Similarly, the first person pronoun can be pluralized to refer to a single speaker, showing the power of the speaker or establishing distance between the speaker and the audience (e.g. 'plural of majesty' or 'royal we') (Head 1978: 163-167, Brown and Levinson 1987: 178-180). Yet, exceptions can be found when the absolute power of the speaker is conveyed through the singular rather than the plural pronoun in the first person (e.g. the absolute power of divinity, the absolute power of a ruler [Head 1978: 166]). Head (1978: 172-173) also presents situations in which the first person plural is used "to refer exclusively to the addressee" rather than the speaker: "Such cases exclude the speaker: although the first person plural is used, reference is only to the addressee" (1978: 173). Sentences such as *And how are we today?* or interrogatives and declaratives that are used instead of imperatives could be examples of this phenomenon. It should be noted that

even though the use of the first person plural may convey the idea of excluding the speaker from the discourse and referring only to the addressee, grammatically, the first person plural is not established as a pronoun of address. In the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), as discussed in previous chapters, the first person plural, in such situations (e.g. *let's*…), is interpreted as 'inclusive we', which allows the speaker to avoid pointing directly at the addressee (1987:127-128, 202- 203): "In positive politeness situations, inclusive 'we' is most appropriate; one speaks as if everything were shared between members" (1987: 203). While, however, the plural of first and second persons are common among Indo-European languages, the plural of the third person is not usual (Head 1978: 166-167).

Some languages, on the other hand, change the category of person (third person vs. second person) instead of the category of number (plural vs. singular) to create a deferential pronoun of address. Head (1978) lists 19 languages, including German, Italian, and Swedish, where a third person pronoun is used to address a single addressee: "It is usually reported that the third person is used for showing greater respect or social distance in address than the second" (Head 1978: 167, see also Joseph 1987:262). If a language has a third person pronoun for deferential address and if there are alternative pronouns to convey respect or social distance in that particular language, the third person pronoun then expresses more deference than other variants. For instance, in some dialects of Italian that have both the second and third person pronouns as address pronouns, the third person pronoun shows greater respect (see Head 1978:169, 191; see Brunet 2008: 76-77, see also Coffen 2000). Subsequently, Head (1978) emphasizes that, in some

languages, the third person pronoun is used to refer to the addressee only when it replaces nouns or nominal expressions in the discourse. The examples of such instances can be found in Modern French, where the third person pronoun is an anaphor for the honorific term.

(296) *Sa* *Majesté* *veut-* *elle?*
her majesty want-3Sg. she

'Her majesty, does she want?

(297) *Monsieur* *veut-* *il?*
sir want-3Sg. he

'Sir, does he want?' (Brunot 1953 in Head 1978: 168)

It should be noted that the difference between the direct and indirect address is not clearly discussed by Head (1978:168). The entire context, in the above examples, is in referential address and not in direct address. What is, however, more important to note is the conveyance of politeness through both the nominal expression and the pronoun.

Even though a pronoun cannot become deferential just because of its occurrence in polite contexts, a deferential pronoun can evolve from polite expressions. For instance, the third person pronoun in Spanish, *usted*, is derived from the expression *Vuestra Merced* 'Your Grace' (Head 1978: 168, Coffen 2002:69, Harris 1978: 125, Helmbrecht 2003:190-191) and the polite personal pronoun *U* in Dutch is derived from *Uwe Edelheid* 'Your Nobility' (Head 1978: 168-169). By contrast, in some languages, the polite expression could be replaced by a third person pronoun. This process, which is called a 'pronominalized noun' by Head (1978:185), leads to the emergence of a deferential third person pronoun. For instance, the third person pronoun *Lei* replaces *La Vostra Signoria*

'Your Lordship' in Italian and, subsequently, it becomes the pronoun of respect (Head 1978: 185, Brunet 2008).

Jucker and Taavitsainen (2003), upon examining the pronominal forms in several European languages, find that the deferential pronominal forms for a single addressee are mostly originated from respectful titles (i.e. nominal expressions) or the second person plural pronoun.

Language	T	V	Origin of V
Spanish	*tu*	*Usted*	respectful title
Italian	*tu*	*Lei*	respectful title
Dutch	*jij*	*U*	respectful title
Polish	*ty*	*pan/pani* [18]	respectful title
German	*du*	*Sie*	3rd pers pl
French	*tu*	*vous*	2nd pers pl
Russian	*ty*	*vy*	2nd pers pl
Finnish	*sinä*	*te*	2nd pers pl
Turkish	*Sen*	*Siz*	2nd pers pl
Swedish	*du*	*ni*	2nd pers pl

Table 1. T and V Pronominal Forms in Some European Languages

(Jucker and Taavitsainen 2003:4)

The polite pronominal forms are not, however, limited to the forms that we have mentioned so far. Politeness can also be expressed through pronouns other than personal pronouns. For instance, in some languages, pronouns indicating proximity, indefiniteness,

[18] Braun (1988:9) refers to *pan*/*pani* in Polish as terms of address corresponding to Mr/Mrs. in English. In this respect, they may not be listed as pronouns.

or exclusiveness convey respect. In others, reflexive pronouns or deferential affixes may be used for this purpose (Head 1978, see also Helmbrecht 2003).

Returning to the categories of number and person, one may wonder why a plural pronoun or a third person pronoun instead of a second person singular is widely used to convey politeness or formality. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that two motives could be the reason why languages develop the plural forms of first, second, or third person pronouns. The plural form of 'you' "provides a conventional 'out' for the hearer" and it gives the hearer "the option to interpret it as applying to him rather than, say, to his companions" (1987: 198-199). In this respect, the plural pronoun is used in order for the speaker to be indirect as it is clearly stated by Helmbrecht (2003:194): "The use of second person plural pronouns in order to refer to a single individual could have been motivated by the reluctance to address the hearer directly."

Brown and Levinson (1987) also consider a second motivation for the use of the second person plural, especially in societies where the social status of individuals is determined by group membership (e.g. kinship-based societies). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), in such societies, the use of the second person plural, as a pronoun of respect or distance, indicates that addressees are representatives of their groups (1987: 199). Similarly, the first person pronoun can be pluralized to show corporation and membership. The first person plural can convey both positive and negative politeness. If, in fact, speakers use inclusive 'we', which include both the speaker and the addressee to the same group, they tend to imply positive politeness. On the other hand, if the plural of the first person is used to refer to the power of the speaker and his/her distance from the

addressees, the plural is used to imply negative politeness. Whether the plural forms of pronouns are used to avoid direct address or to convey the idea of membership, pluralization, according to Brown and Levinson (1987:200) is associated with politeness: "It is the *plurality* itself that is the 'honorific' feature". Avoiding a direct address could similarly be a motivation for using deferential third person pronouns or referential titles in address (e.g. "Would His Highness prefer tea in the pink or the lavender room?" [Brown and Levinson 1987:201]). Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that when referential forms are used in address, "[...] the underlying principle seems to be the distancing afforded by speaking to the addressee as if the speaker (or the hearer) were not present" (1987: 201).

Adopting the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), Helmbrecht (2003) draws a general conclusion about the formation of pronouns of address. He argues that the rise of deferential pronouns is motivated by the desire of the speaker to be indirect:

> Negative politeness includes all linguistic strategies that diminish the degree of potential imposition of an FTA [face-threatening act] on an addressee. Speakers try to avoid a direct and clear expression of the FTA. This avoidance strategy includes, among other things, a lowering of the illocutionary force of the speech act and an avoidance of a direct reference to the addressee. The latter aspect is particularly important for the rise of politeness distinctions in pronouns.
>
> (Helmbrecht 2003: 194)

Both second person plural and third person pronouns when used in direct address help the speaker to avoid pointing directly at the hearer. Helmbrecht (2003:199) further adds that the existence of deferential or formal pronouns in a given language can either be because of 'avoidance strategy' of politeness, or because of "contact- induced borrowing"

phenomenon. Yet, no data have been provided to show the rise of the deferential pronoun as a result of a contact language. In addition to the 'avoidance' or 'indirectness' theory, Jucker and Taavitsainen (2003) offer another hypothesis to explain the use of plural pronouns in address. They believe that, as in royal 'we', "the plural is a metaphor in which size is taken to imply power" (Jucker and Taaitsainen 2003:5, see also Brown and Gilman 1960:255). Consequently, the use of a plural pronoun for a single addressee attributes power to the addressee.

Joseph (1987), examining the Indo-European languages, emphasizes that 'pluralization' is the "basic mechanism for deference" and that any other deferential form (e.g. the third person singular), is developed after "passing through the pluralization stage"[19] (1987: 261). According to Joseph (1987), in deferential address, there is a tendency to shift towards the less definite category of persons. The degree of definiteness in deferential forms decreases from the second to the third person: "The replacement of 2p [2nd person plural] by 3s [3rd person singular] is not really a replacement at all. 3s [3rd person singular] is one of the conceptual components of 2p [2nd person plural], indeed is its less definite level" (1987: 271). The study of Joseph (1987), in fact, associates deference with indefiniteness: "[...] it is clear that deference always involves movement to a less definite category" (1987:271). He claims that, in Indo-European languages, the degree of definiteness decreases from the first to the third person because of the deictic

[19] In examples illustrated by Joseph (1987:262), pluralization as an intermediate stage is clearly shown for languages such as Spanish or Italian in which the second plural pronoun in the Middle Ages (e.g. Sp. *vos*, It. *voi*) is replaced by a third person pronoun (e.g. Sp. *usted, usteds*; It. *Lei, Loro*). Yet, such transition may not be documented for all other languages that have a third person as a deferential address.

characteristics of the first and second person pronouns. By using the first person pronoun, "the speaker situates the speaker and the subject at the same existential point" (Joseph 1987:271). On the other hand, by using the second person pronoun "the speaker situates the hearer and the subject at the same existential point..." (Joseph 1987: 271). Yet, "the third person fails to situate anything; or it situates by not situating" (Joseph 1987:271).

This comment parallels Beneveniste's observations about the nature of the third person. Benveniste (1966-74:251-257), examining the French pronominal system, points to the deictic nature of the first and second person pronouns *je* and *tu,* but he calls the third person pronoun *il* a "non-personne" because of its incapability to refer to the actual entities of the discourse:

> La "troisième personne" représente en fait le membre non marqué de la corrélation de personne. C'est pourquoi il n'y a pas truisme à affirmer que la non-personne est le seul mode d'énonciation possible pour les instances de discours qui ne doivent pas renvoyer à elles-mêmes, mais qui prédiquent le procès de n'importe qui ou n'importe quoi hormis l'instance même, ce n'importe qui ou n'importe quoi pouvant toujours être muni d'une référence objective.
>
> (Beneveniste 1966-74 : 255-256)

These studies, therefore, indicate that the third person, by its uses, is less definite than the first and the second person. Although it has been argued that a less definite pronoun can be more deferential, the deferential connotation of the French pronoun *on* may not be so evident. We know that the pronoun *on* in French is an indefinite pronoun that can replace any person, especially the first person plural *nous* 'we'. *On* (< Lat. *homo*) has been around for centuries. It started to appear in Medieval French as an indefinite pronoun, but was gradually used as a replacement for all other personal pronouns and

became more and more frequent, especially in Modern French (see Grafström 1968, see Nyrop 1925). According to Grafström (1968), *on* became a feature of the familiar language because of the influence of the popular language as well as the regional French and the patois. He also points to the contribution of the two World Wars in facilitating the transition of *on* from the vulgar language to the familiar language of French (Grafström 1968: 276, 294-295). Linguists, however, may take different positions vis-à-vis the polite connotation of *on*. Head (1978) argues that although in some languages (e.g. Navaho, ancient Egyptian), a less definite third person pronoun or an impersonal form is used in polite conversations, the indefinite *on* in French or the indefinite 'someone' in English do not have similar functions:

> In contrast, use of the indefinite on in French instead of the first person plural of the personal pronoun is usually considered a feature of familiar language, and thus reflects lack of social distance […]
>
> In English, the use of "someone" in address or reference to a notional third person is typically downward directed, as in "It's past someone's bedtime"
>
> (Head 1978: 178)

Although *on* is related to familiar language, it is employed in all registers and variants of French, even in elevated style (see Nyrop 1925), which may indicate its potential polite meaning. In contrast to Head (1978), the study of Nyrop (1925) implicitly associates the use of the pronoun *on* with the most talked strategy of politeness (i.e. avoiding face-threatening act):

> Le pronom *on* a quelque chose d'effacé, de prudent et de modeste, qui le fait parfois préférer à un pronom personnel. C'est pourquoi, dans certains cas, la forme indéterminée remplace la forme déterminée. Cette particularité se rencontre dans le style soutenu aussi bien que dans le parler populaire. La substitution du pronom indéfini au pronom personnel […] est due en première ligne à des raisons psychologiques : on remplace par discrétion un terme précis et déterminé (*je, nous, tu, vous*) par une forme vague et indéterminée. De cette manière on évite de se mêler formellement aux affaires d'autrui, comme on évite de mêler les autres à ses propres affaires : on s'efface soi-même.
>
> (Nyrop 1925: 374)

Despite the fact that there was a tendency among many languages to develop a distinct pronoun of address, in rare instances, as in English, we observe the opposite. Early English had the two address pronouns *thou* (2Sg) and *you* (2Sg/2Pl) < *ye* (2Sg/2Pl). While *thou* was reserved for familiar address, *you* was used for deferential address. This distinction, however, no longer exists in contemporary English as *you* emerged as the only address pronoun. *Thou*, on the other hand, is still used in prayers (Brown and Gilman 1960:253). In addition, many languages developed more than two address pronouns, like several Romance languages, which will be briefly discussed in the following sections along with the pronominal address system in Latin and French.

4.2. LATIN *VOS*

Latin for a long time had only the pronoun *tu* to address a single addressee, and the pronoun *vos* to address more than one addressee. However, over time, *vos* gained another function. While it was still a plural pronoun, it emerged as a deferential pronoun for a single addressee. Two hypotheses are commonly offered to explain the reason why *vos* became a deferential pronoun. It is estimated that the first appearance of the pronoun

vos as a deferential pronoun to address a single addressee was in the 4th century. The Roman Empire at that period was under the authority of more than one emperor, who shared power. To refer to their shared authority, each emperor would use *nos* 'nous' instead of *ego* 'I' while talking about himself. Any of the emperors, in return, was addressed by *vos* indicating an implicit plural (Coffen 2002:36, Brown and Gillman 1960:255, Maley 1974:10, Muller 1914:68-69, see Bakos 1955: 298). A similar process further led to the emergence of the *nous de communauté* (i.e. plural of modesty) that was attested at the time of Christianity among religious leaders. They used to write in the first person plural *nos* to refer to their group, and, by analogy to the emperors, they would receive *vos* in response. Emperors and bishops were, therefore, the initiators of the deferential pronouns (Wolff 1988:58-59, Coffen 2002: 36-43).

In a second theory, it is contended that a Latin emperor would refer to himself as *nos* rather than *ego* to represent himself and the nation under his control (Coffen 2002:36, Brown and Gillman 1960:255). The use of *nos* instead of *ego* by an emperor is then called 'plural of majesty'. Consequently, the emperor would be addressed by *vos* (Coffen 2002: 36, Brown and Gillman 1960: 255). Wolff (1988) relates the first and second theories. He believes that the rise of the deferential pronoun was in the response to the plural of majesty or *nous de majesté*, which would indicate the share of power among several emperors (Wolff 1988:58-59). Maley (1974:12) also believes that the combination of both theories (i.e. the share of power by several emperors and the plural of majesty) contributed to the emergence of the deferential *vos*.

To the two previous hypotheses, however, Brown and Gillman (1960) add another theory. According to Brown and Gillman (1960), the use of the plural *vos* could just be motivated by the power of the addressee:

> The usage need not have been mediated by a prosaic association with actual plurality, for plurality is a very old and ubiquitous metaphor for power. Consider only the several senses of such English words as "great" and "grand". The reverential *vos* could have been directly inspired by the power of an emperor.
>
> (Brown and Gillman 1960: 255)

All hypotheses, therefore, point to the use of singular *vos* as a response to the *nos* used by an emperor, regardless of the real intention behind the use of *vos*. However, it is not clear when exactly it became a pronoun indicating respect or distance to a single addressee. Apparently, Gordian III (238-244 [A.D.]) was the first emperor to use *vos* as a 'plural of majesty' in official documents (Maley 1974:10, Bakos 1955:299, Brunet 2008:64). Yet, singular *vos* became frequent in the era of Emperor Diocletian (3rd c). Diocletian, influenced by the Asian (i.e. oriental) systems of monarchy, changes the structure of Latin society by turning it to a society where the empire had the absolute power and was surrounded by officials of different ranks: "[…] bien que l'emploi métaphorique du pluriel plonge ses racines dans le latin de l'âge d'or, l'emploi du "*vos* reverentiae" ne deviant courant que dans des circonstances sociales changées, liées à la foundation d'une monarchie autocratique et à l'établissement d'une hiérarchie des fonctionnaires de l'État" (Bakos 1955:301-302). In addition to the influence of the Orient on the social structure of Roman society, Bakos (1955:302) also points to the possible linguistic influence and

contribution of an oriental language (Iranian) on the spread of the use of the Latin deferential pronoun.

Wolff (1986), however, attests the use of singular *vos* prior to the 3rd century. Wolff, examining numbers of correspondence of prominent writers and ecclesiastical figures, finds the first deferential address in the form of a possessive adjective in a letter addressing Cicero (1BC) (1986:370-373). The use of *vos*[20] as a term of address for emperors is also reported in the texts written by authors such as Ovid (1BC-1AD), Tacitus (1-2AD), or Pliny the Younger (1AD) (see Maley 1974: 10, Bakos 1955: 300). Wolff (1986), additionally, finds the occurrence of *vos* in certain formulae of politeness, between the 2nd and 5th century, in which its usage meant to show the profound respect and deference (Wolff 1986:383).

However, Châtelain (1880) argues that the singular *vos* did not gain a deferential connotation right away and remained primarily a collective pronoun for sometime. Châtelain (1880) assumes that, until the 5th century, *vos,* addressing an emperor or a pope was just a plural of association:

> En résumé, le pluriel de respect n'a été employé qu'au V[ème]e siècle de notre ère. Il me semble, [...], que ce pluriel figuré a tiré son origine d'un pluriel au sens propre, c'est-à-dire de l'usage, fréquent aux IIIe et IVe siècles, d'associer tous les Augustes à la gloire de l'un d'entre eux […].
>
> Par suite on a considéré les empereurs comme faisant tous une même famille, participant à l'autorité, à la gloire de leurs prédécesseurs. De même on a dit, par

[20] Deferential address was not exclusively conveyed through subject pronouns. Verbs, possessive adjectives, and possessive pronouns were among linguistic means through which the distinction between the two forms of address could be indicated. Therefore, by using *vos* and *tu*, we refer to all the possible forms leading to the distinction between the two pronouns.

> analogie, *sedes vestra* [your-2Pl. seat] au pape, en le considérant comme un membre de la grande famille des papes.
>
> (Châtelain 1880: 138-139)

The collective connotation of *vos* was then gradually replaced by the notion of respect and deference when addressing superiors, e.g. a pope to an emperor, people to civil or religious officials, a bishop to a pope, etc. (Châtelain 1880:139). The collective use of *vos* corresponds rather to the first hypothesis, which assumes that *vos* was used to indicate the shared power and authority by several emperors. As mentioned earlier, it has been argued that *vos* became frequent when Diocletian was in power. This is not surprising since, according to Maley (1974:11), Diocletian formed an empire on the basis of shared power between several rulers. She also adds that, in Latin, it was usual to "address one person of a group in the plural, referring to the group, rather than to the individual member" (Maley 1974:11). In this respect, the new structure of society, and the linguistic habit of the Romans could contribute to the use of *vos* primarily as a collective pronoun and explain its frequent usage at the time of Diocletian.

It is also important to point to the usage of possessive pronouns in Latin because of the usual absence of subject pronouns. Most examples of Latin, reported in literature, indicate that the distinction between pronouns of address is expressed in possessive pronouns. For instance, Emperor Diocletian would use titles such as *serenitas nostra* ('our serenity'), *tranquillitas nostra* ('our calm') referring to himself, yet, he would use the possessive pronoun *tua* (your-2Sg) in titles addressing other superiors or high ranking officials (e.g. *sollerita tua* ['your-2Sg. cleverness']) (Coffen 2002:37, see also Nyrop 1925:231). Similarly, Châtelain (1880) refers to the use of either the subject pronoun or

the possessive pronoun to distinguish between the deferential and ordinary pronoun of address: "Le pape qui disait à l'empereur *vos* ou *vestra serenitas* ['your-2Pl. serenity'] employait encore *tu* ou *dilectio tua* ['your-2Sg. esteem'] en parlant à un évêque" (Châtelain 1880:139).

The hypotheses presented above on the origin and the source of the deferential *vos* in the Romance languages contradict with theories such as the theory of 'avoidance' or 'indirectness' involving a universal tendency towards the development of similar forms of deferential address. In the Romance languages, the plural form of the pronoun did not emerge as a single pronoun of address because of the desire of speakers to avoid direct address. Rather, the singular *vos* was inherited from Latin, where it had already started to be used as an address pronoun in response to the *nos* used by the emperor.

The deferential *vos* that once was used for emperors gradually spread among other high ranking people, where there was not yet a clear distinction between *tu* and *vos*. After the collapse of Roman Empire and the disappearance of Latin, the deferential pronoun that was only used among elites disappears for a period of time until the 11th century, when it reappeared in Romance texts (Coffen 2002:42). Yet, the deferential *vos* could not be wiped out from the grammar. It is probable that its sporadic usage led to its reoccurrence in Romance langauges (see also Coffen 2002:42-43). In addition, according to Châtelain (1880:139), the emergence of *vos* never excluded the use of *tu* in Latin. When Latin speakers could feel comfortable with the powerful addressee, they could then use *tu, tuus* and *vos, vester* alternatively. The alternation between the two pronouns, in fact, starts as soon as *vos* gained its second function as a singular pronoun. This

phenomenon became the focus of many studies, as we discuss further in the next sections and chapter 5.

4.2.1. The Co-occurrence of *Tu* and *Vos* in Latin

One of the significant studies on the use of the address pronouns in Latin is a study conducted by Wolff (1986) briefly referred to above, which examines the letters of several authors and religious figures in both early and later periods of Latin. In the following pages, we discuss Wolff's findings, which present a clear and detailed picture of the use of *tu* as opposed to *vos* in Latin already. Starting with the letters of Cicero, Wolff (1986) finds the exclusive use of reciprocal *tu* in Cicero's letters to his friends, family members, or high ranking officials. Only one instance of *vos* was attested in a letter[21] from Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the governor of Achaea, addressing Cicero:

(298) *Et si scio non iucundissimum me nuntium*
and Conj. know-1Sg. not pleasant- Superl. me-Acc. news

<u>uobis</u>[22] *allaturum , tamen, […], quoquo modo*
you-2Pl.Dat. about to bring-Part. nevertheless whatever manner

res se haberet, <u>uos</u> certiores
matter Conj. have- 3Sg.Subju.Imperf. you-2Pl.Acc. certain- Pl.Acc.

facere... (in Wolff 1986 :371)
do- Inf.

'I know that the news that I'm about to give you is not pleasant,
nevertheless, [...] in any case, I inform you'

---

[21] In our study, we will only present the sections of the letters that include the pronouns of address.

[22] Instances of the use of second person pronouns or verbs in second person forms are underlined to facilitate the comparison between the two pronouns.

As discussed earlier, *vos* could have a collective meaning when addressing a single person. The above letter, discussed by Wolff (1986), was a formal letter which could be addressed to Cicero and his fellow politicians. From this perspective, *vos* could just have a collective meaning rather than a deferential one. One century later, in letters of Pliny the Second, a writer and politician of the 1st century AD, Wolff (1986) also attests the general use of the pronoun *tu*, except for two instances when *vos* was used by Pliny to address Fabatus, the grandfather of his wife, and the emperor Trajan. However, apart from these instances, *tu* was the pronoun of address in the rest of the letter.

(299) [Pliny to the grand-father of his wife]

Cupis	*post*	*longum*	*tempus*	*neptem*
desire-2Sg.	after	long	time	granddaughter-Acc.

tuam	*meque*	*una*	*uidere.* […]	*Nam*	*in*	*uicem*	
your-2Sg.Acc.	me+with	together	see-Inf.	for	in	alternation-Acc.	

nos	*incredibili*	*quodam*	*desiderio*	*uestri*
nous-Nom.	incredible.Abl.	in a certain manner	desire-Abl.	your.2Pl.Gen.

tenemur,	*quod*	*non*	*ultra*	*differemus…*
hold-1Pl. Pass.	because	not	beyond	to carry apart-1Pl.

(in Wolff 1986:372)

'You desire to see your granddaughter together with me after a long time. […].We are touched by your incredible desire because, similarly, we wish to see you'

In this letter of Pliny, the alternation between *tu* and *vos* towards the same addressee is clearly presented. To dismiss the idea of a collective *vos*, Wolff (1986:372) emphasizes that the plural pronoun used to a single addressee in the letter of Pliny cannot be a

collective pronoun addressing both the grandfather and his granddaughter because the granddaughter or the wife of Pliny was with Pliny at the time.

Likewise, the following letter shows the use of *vos* by Pliny to address the emperor.

(300) *Ut primum me, domine, indulgentia uestra promouit*
Conj. firt me master-Voc. indulgence your-2Pl. extend-3Sg.Perf.

ad praefecturam aerarii Saturni… (in Wolff 1986:372)
to prefecture.Acc. treasury-Gen. Saturne-Gen.

'Master, first, your indulgence promoted me to the prefecture of the treasury of Saturne'

Vestra in this letter seems to be used to solely address the emperor at the time when only one emperor was in power; yet, as indicated earlier, *vos* or *vestra* could commonly be used having a collective meaning. Therefore, we contend that a careful examination of the exchanged letters between Pliny and the emperor can confirm the deferential usage of the pronoun of address. Subsequently, if, following Wolff (1986), we assume that *vestra* is the singular adjective possessive, we are in fact witnessing one of the early appearances of the use of the nominal expression in address (i.e. *indulgentia vestra*): expressions that generated the emergence of the deferential third person pronoun in many languages (see section 4.1). As for the rest of the letter, Pliny addresses the emperor by the second person singular (Wolff 1986: 372).

(301) […] *cum* *omnia* *facta* *dictaque* *meo* *probare*
with all deeds words+with my approve-Inf.

sanctissimis *moribus* *tuis* *cupiam*
holy-Superl.Abl character-Pl.Abl. your-2Sg.Abl. wish-1Sg.Subju.

(in Wolff 1986:372)

'[…] I wish that you approve all my acts and speech with your holiest personality'

The use of *vos* increases in the letters of Symmachus, an author and politician of the 4th century, and the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, a Latin writer, politician and bishop of the 5th century, although *tu* remains the main pronoun of address in the letters (Wolff 1986:373-376). Addressees could be friends, families or high ranking individuals. The alternation between *tu* and *vos*, addressing the same individual, continues to occur in the letters of both Symmachus and Apollinaris. The following example shows another alternation between the familiar and the deferential/formal address in a letter of Apollinaire addressing the bishop Faustus:

(302) *Longum* *tacere,* *uir* *sacratissime* *nos* *in* *commune*
long be silent- Inf. man holiest we in common

dequestus *es;* *cognosco* *uestrae* *partis* *hinc*
deplored be-2Sg. know-1Sg. your-2Pl.Gen. side-Gen. hence

studium, *nostrae* *reatum* *non* *recognosco*
devotion-Acc. our-Gen. accusation-Acc. not recognize-1Sg.

(in Wolff 1986: 376)

'You, the holiest man, deplored our long silence. Hence, I am aware of your devotion, but I do not recognize our accusation'

Examining the letters of both Symmachus and Apollinaris, Châtelain (1880) suggests that *vos* was most probably used as a collective pronoun in letters of Symmachus to a Roman emperor, associating him with other emperors. By contrast, *vos* is considered a pronoun of respect for a single addressee in letters of Apollinaris, where it was in alternation with the pronoun *tu* (Châtelain 1880:132-136). Châtelain (1880) insists that the alternation between the two pronouns could be found elsewhere as well: "l'emploi simultané du pluriel et du singulier à l'égard de la même personne n'est pas une originalité de Sidoine; ses contemporains usent de la même liberté" (1880:136). It seems that Wolff (1986), who also witnesses the alternation between the two pronouns, is doubtful about the true recognition of the deferential *vos* in those periods**.** He argues that although *vouvoiement* 'use of the *vous* form' was a deferential formula, it was not really established as a linguistic device for politeness. Reviewing the letters wirtten by Symmachus, Wolff (1986 :374) concludes: "Sans doute s'agit-il encore d'une simple formule de politesse, […], mais non profondément sentie."After examining the letters of Apollinaire, he once again refers to the instability of the deferential *vos* in that early periods of Latin: "Le vouvoiement est encore une formule de politesse, un peu noyée, sans qu'on comprenne toujours les motifs de son emploi, au sein de cet ensemble, et non l'expression d'un sentiment vécu. La mutation reste à faire " (Wolff 1986:376).

In later centuries (7^{th}- 9^{th} centuries), known as the Carolingian period, although the alternation between *tu* and *vos* is still present, the use of singular *vos*, bearing a deferential meaning, increases to the extent that it is the predominant pronoun in many instances. For instance, after the examination of the letters of Alcuin, a teacher, writer

and ecclesiastic scholar of the 8th century, to Charlemagne, Wolff (1986:378) concludes: "Le vouvoiement est donc l'attitude normale, le tutoiement marque les inflexions plus intimes." Similarly, the examination of the letters of Loup, a priest and ecclesiastical teacher of the 9th century, shows the use of *vos* for high ranking individuals (e.g. the emperor Lothair I, Kings Charles the Bald and Ethelwulf, popes, bishops, archbishops, etc.) and the use of *tu* for friends and simple monks (Wolff 1986:379). Although Loup alternates the two pronouns in some of his letters, Wolff (1986:380) believes that the use of the address pronouns became more stabilized at that period: "Il [Loup] vouvoie et tutoie des personnes différentes, comme nous le ferions de nos jours. La coexistence du "tu" et du "vous" devient rare. Nous avons bien le sentiment que la mutation est opérée."

The alternation between *tu* and *vos* was also attested by other authors. Nyrop (1925), for instance, provides us with the following sentence from Gregory of Tours, a bishop of Tours (6th century):

(303) *Nouli* *sine* *consilio* *vestro*, *tu*
not to wish-1Sg. Perf. without advice-Abl. your-2Pl.Abl. you-2Sg.Nom.

autem *dixisti*. (in Nyrop 1925:232)
however say-2Sg.Perf.

'I do not wish not having your advice; you, however, said it'

The status of the addressee or the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, in the above example, is, however, unknown to us.

The letters of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) were also of interest to other linguists (Brown and Gilman 1960, Maley 1974, Coffen 2002). Muller (1914:70, 76), in his extensive study of the letters of Gregory the Great, attests that the pope generally uses

tu or *tuus* to address his subordinates (e.g. "subdeacons, deacons, defensors, rectors, notaries…" or "any cleric or ordained person below the rank of bishop" [1914:70, 76]). On the other hand, *vos* and *vester* is used to address emperors, empresses, "imperial functionaries", kings, and queens (Muller 1914:70). According to Muller (1914:71), the subject of letters to superiors was usually "a petition of some kind to personages independent enough to withhold the favor asked of them." Using polite formulae to make a request was seemingly usual in Latin. In the previous chapter, we discussed that in many instances a Latin speaker would praise the addressee in order to beg him or make a request. From this perspective, *vos* (or *vester*) was rather used to flatter and praise the addressee. The frequent use of the pronoun of respect towards high ranking individuals and the use of *tu* towards inferiors, however, could not eliminate the alternation between the two pronouns.

(304) [Gregory to Emperor Maurice]

Ego	*autem*	*indignus*	*pietatis*	*vestrae*	*famulus* […]	*jure*
I	however	unworthy	kindness-Gen.	your-2Pl.Gen.	servant	law-Abl.

privato	*loquor,*	*quia,*	*serenissime*	*domine,*	*ex*	*illo*
private-Abl.	say-1Sg.	because	fair-Superl.	master-Voc.	from	that-Abl.

jam	*tempore*	*dominus*	*meus*	*fuisti*	*quando*	*adhuc*
now	time	master-Nom.	my.Nom	be-2Sg.Perf.	when	till then

dominus	*omnium*	*non*	*eras.*	(in Muller 1914:71)
master-Nom.	of all	not	be-2Sg.Imperf.	

'I, however, a servant, unworthy of your kindness, speak, according to the law, because the fairest master, from that time, you were my master when you were not the master of all'

In the above letter, according to Muller (1914), by changing *vos* to *tu*, the speaker expresses his feelings. The shift from deferential to familiar pronoun could occur when the speaker wished to give advice as a spiritual father, as illustrated in the following example (Coffen 2002:38):

(305) [Gregory to Theodore ("the doctor of the imperial court")]

Vos	*qui*	*ei*	*(imperatori)*	*familiarius*	*servitis*,
you-2Pl.Nom.	who	him-Dat.	(to the emperor)	more familiar	serve-2Pl.

loqui	*ei*	*liberius*	*potestis*,	[…],	*tu*	*quidem*,
speak-Inf.	him-Dat.	more freely	can-2Pl.		you-2Sg.Nom.	indeed

gloriose	*fili*,	*pro*	*Christo*	*loquere.*
glorious-Voc.	son-Voc.	for	Christ	speak- 2Sg.Imp.

(in Muller 1914:73, in Coffen 2002: 40)

'You, who serve him more regularly, you can speak to him more freely; [...], you, indeed, glorious son, speak for Christ.'

According to Muller (1914:73), in most instances, the use of *tu* in the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great "with these high personages is due to the affectionate, confidential tone assumed at intervals by the pope, or, which is nearly the same thing, to his taking the attitude of the spiritual father speaking to his favorite children." On the other hand the change from *tu* to *vos*, addressing an inferior, could occur "to extenuate the impression of arrogance that might be made by the promulgation of orders or the expression of censure" (Muller1914:89). Although the use of *tu* was the norm while addressing religious figures of lower rank, who did not have independent authority, the frequent alternation between the two pronouns was also seen addressing the individuals of lower rank such as the "members of the clergy, bishops and abbots"

(Muller 1914:75). For instance, in a letter addressing Natalis, the bishop of Salona, Gregory blames him for his bad conduct. Later, Pope Gregory, who used to say *tu* to him, changes the pronoun of address to *vos* in order to "soften the expression of the blame" (Muller 1914: 77, see also Coffen 2002:41).

(306) *Haec* *ergo* *ad* *vosmetipsos* *trahite* *et* *si* *vos*
this I to yourself- 2Pl. draw out- 2Pl.Imp. and if you-2Pl.

tales *cognoscitis*... (in Muller 1914:77, in Coffen 2002:41)
such recognize-2Pl.

'Take this for yourself, and if you recognize such [people]'

The alternation between *tu* and *vos* continues in the rest of the letter. In addition, the change of *tu* to *vos*, addressing an inferior, could be an indication of respect or a request for a favor (Muller 1914: 77-88, Coffen 2002: 41). Yet, *vos* would be replaced by *tu* if the request was rather "a positive order" (1914:82). Muller's observation (1914) indicates that the change of the pronoun, whether from *tu* to *vos* or *vos* to *tu*, would show the change in the speaker's attitude and emotion. In this respect *tu* and *vos* could have similar functions:

> Moreover, according to the reciprocal relations of the respective parties, the significance of the "tutoiement" and "vou[v]oiement" would shift. An expression of affection addressed to a person of low rank, for example, might call for the plural, while in the case of a personage of superior position the singular would be in place; and again, for the expression of a command in similar cases, the converse would be true. (Muller 1914:89)

Finally, it may be necessary to briefly point to the use of Latin demonstrative as a pronoun of address: "Ainsi, à côté du *tu* classique, il faut citer comme pronoms

allocutoires employés en roman *vos* et *illa*[23]" (Nyrop 1925: 229). Although Nyrop (1925) does not elaborate on the function of the demonstrative *ille* as a pronoun of address, its usage as a deferential pronoun is also described by Head (1978). According to Head (1978: 182), *ille* which would point to "something or someone distant from both speaker and addressee […], came to indicate respect or admiration." On the other hand, the demonstrative pronoun *iste* 'this' developed a pejorative connotation. Yet, both demonstratives could be used as deferential address pronouns: "For showing degrees of respect or social distance, both demonstratives came to be used in reference to other participant roles in discourse, notwithstanding their original categories of second and third person" [24] (Head 1978:183). To emphasize the use of demonstratives as deferential pronouns, he further points to the use of the second person demonstrative as a deferential address in varieties of Basque, where the address *berori* is combined from the intensive or reflexive *ber-* and the second person demonstrative *–ori* (1978:183).

In sum, *vos* as a single pronoun of address emerges in the early periods of Latin, having primarily a collective meaning; however, its usage was not frequent until later centuries. In later centuries, *vos*, as a deferential pronoun, became the usual pronoun for superiors and *tu* became so usually motivated for inferiors. However, speakers could alternate the two pronouns while addressing the same addressee, indicating affection,

[23] No explanation was given by the author as to why he lists the feminine form of the demonstrative as the pronoun of address.
[24] No data was provided by Nyrop (1925) or Head (1978) to show the use of Latin demonstratives as deferential address forms.

emotion or a change of attitude of the speaker towards the addressee. Similar usage of the address pronouns is expected to be seen in Old French as well:

> If, in the twelfth century, a speaker could alternately use *tu* and *vos* to the same person and even in the same sentence, it was because this was constantly done around him: he had learned the usage as he had learned the rest of his language when a child. And when one recalls that this shifting from the singular to the plural and *vice versa* had been going on, even in the learned classes, for seven hundred years, some other explanation must be found. (Muller 1914:69)

We should however note that Latin texts that have been so far examined by linguists are all about the language that was used among the upper classes. As we discussed earlier, it is believed that *vos* appeared first in the language of upper class society. Consequently, the lower classes were not acquainted with this pronoun. Yet, the lack of enough documents in the vernacular language leaves us with uncertainty about the precise use of address pronouns among common people. From this perspective, it may not be unreasonable to ask the following question: 'Which pronoun would a commoner use to address an emperor?'

The use of deferential pronouns was further determined by the social classes, as aristocracy and monarchy dominated in Europe, to the extent that politeness in late Middle Ages became a vehicle to indicate the royalty or privileged social class of the interlocutors (Coffen 2002:41-42). The use of pronouns of address from Latin to Middle French is summarized by Maley (1974) as follows:

Step I: CLASSICAL AND SPOKEN LATIN

tu and *vos* serve singular or plural distinction only. (Exception: one member of a group could be addressed with *vos*.)

Step II: THIRD CENTURY-FIFTH CENTURY

Era of multiple rulers, therefore emperor addressed with plural *vos*. In analogy of *nos* for *ego*, *vos* was used for *tu*.
tu used to address any one person except the emperor.

Step III-A: SIXTH CENTURY-NINTH CENTURY

vos used when anyone addressed a king, an emperor, a pope, or any person in high authority for reasons of honor, respect, or flattery.
tu used to address any one person except the above.

Step IV-A: TENTH CENTURY-FOURTEENTH CENTURY

vous used (1) in addressing one who was honored and respected (e.g. , lord to king, servant to master), and (2) in addressing equals, usually in upper class ranks for reasons of mutual respect and admiration. *tu* used (1) among equals of higher classes in cases of extremely close friendship (and therefore in free alternation with *vous* in upper class ranks), and (2) used exclusively between members of lower classes.

Step III-B, IV-B: SIXTH CENTURY-FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Mixture of *tu* and *vous* prevalent in all classes. The choice of either *tu* or *vous* was based on the occasion, the social class(es) of the speakers involved, and the emotional attitudes and /or feelings of superiority of one speaker over the person he is addressing.

(Maley 1974:20-21)

Although the focus of our study is on the form and usage of *tu* and *vous* in Medieval French, in the next section, we will first briefly review the form and function of deferential pronouns in certain Romance languages, before focusing on French.

4.3. ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Among the Romance languages, a few languages (e.g. French) preserved Latin's deferential pronoun. Most other Romance languages started to develop other deferential forms to replace the inherited Latin *vos*, which gradually became weak because of its frequent usage, and its incapability to convey the high degree of respect. For instance, we witness the formation of a new pronoun of respect in Italian. The deferential pronoun *voi* (< Lat. *vos*) could no longer convey deference by itself and had to be used with titles or other address terms. In the 15th century, nominal expressions such as *Vostra Signoria* or *Vostra Excellenzia/Exccellenza* started to be used, especially towards superiors. The expression *Vostra Signoria* emerges as the most common polite expression. Among all other alternatives (e.g. *ella*, *quella*, etc), the feminine third person pronoun *lei* substitutes the nominal expression, and the form *Lei* emerges as the new deferential pronoun of Italian regardless of the gender of the addressee. By analogy to *Lei* ('she'), the deferential plural *Loro* ('they') was also formed. *Voi* as a deferential pronoun may still be found in some dialects or regions (Coffen 2002: 113-126, 242-252; Harris 1978:123-125, Nyrop 1925: 230-231, see also Maley 1974, Brunet 2008).

In Spanish, nominal expressions such as *vuestra merced, vuestra excelencia, vuestra alteza* were used as highly deferential address in late Middle Ages, especially towards nobility, following the weakness of deferential *vos*. The phonetic contraction of the generalized expression *vuestra merced* then resulted in the formation of the new deferential pronoun *usted* (Coffen 2002: 127-156, 252-257; Harris 1978: 123-125, Nyrop 1925:231, Bentivoglio 2003). This process also yielded to the formation of the deferential

plural *ustedes* (Harris 1978: 125). According to Nyrop (1925: 230), the singular *vos* is still seen in ceremonial (e.g. religious contexts) and dramatic styles as well as in official documents. Other varieties of Spanish, however, have developed different patterns (e.g. South American Spanish, Judeo-Spanish, etc.). For instance, in South American Spanish, the deferential pronoun *vos* completely loses its deferential meaning and becomes an informal and intimate pronoun parallel to *tu* (e.g. in Argentina and Paraguay). *Vos* as an informal pronoun is then used with a singular verb; therefore, direct, indirect, reflexive, or possessive pronouns used with *vos* all appear in singular (i.e. *te, tuyo*). *Usted* remains as the only deferential pronoun in singular, and *ustedes* is the only plural one (Coffen 2002: 127-156, Harris 1978: 123-125, see also Maley 1974).

The pronominal systems of other languages show even more complex paradigms. For instance, while *vos* is lowered to a more familiar pronoun, Portuguese develops the third person singular *você* and its plural *vocês* as deferential address pronouns, derived from the nominal expression *Vossa(s) Mercê(s)* (Coffen 2002: 189-206, Maley 1974:9, Harris 1978:124). Yet, *você*, in turn, weakens and cannot convey a high degree of deference. Consequently, the language replaces *você(s)* with the more formal expressions *o(s) senhor(es)* or *a(s) senhora(s)* (Harris 1978: 124). Coffen (2002: 259) defines the distinction among address pronouns in contemporary Portuguese on the basis of the two criteria of distance and formality: *tu* [-distance, - formality], *o senhor* [+distance, +formality], *você* [+distance, -formality]. In Brazilian and African Portuguese, however, *você* becomes a familiar pronoun of address and leaves the nominal expressions as the only deferential address (Coffen 2002:189-206).

Distance and formality were also the criteria for the formation of new pronouns of address in several other Romance languages. For instance, Catalan has three forms of address in singular: the familiar *tu*, the deferential *vostè*, and the deferential and formal *vós*. The plural *vosaltres* (< *vos-alteros*) and *vostès* represent familiar and formal plural of address respectively (Coffen 2002: 162-164). Similarly, the pronominal system of Sardinian develops various address pronouns. In addition to *tu*, which is the familiar pronoun of address, there are three sets of deferential address pronouns, where the second plural forms indicate less formality than the third singular forms. One pronoun normally represents respect in familiar relationships (e.g. *bois, fustei, vossia*), one pronoun represents deference in more distant relationships (e.g. *bosté, bosu*) and finally one pronoun is used in formal settings (e.g. *isse, sa mertzei, vissignoria*) (Coffen 2002: 173-185).

A complex pronominal system can be found in Galician as well. *Tu*,*ti* represent the familiar pronouns of address, while the third pronouns *el*/*ela* and *vosté*/*vostede* are deferential pronouns, but *vosté*/*vostede* indicates a higher degree of deference. The old form *vós* is rarely employed (Coffen 2002: 206-210). In Romanian, we also observe the evolution of a very different pronominal address system. While *tu* is the familiar pronoun, the second pronouns *dumneata* (< *domina ta* 'your-2Sg. lord') and *dumneavoastră* (< *domnia voastră* 'your-2Pl. lord') emerge as deferential pronouns. *dumneavoastră* is a deferential pronoun in formal settings, and *dumneata* is a deferential pronoun used in more familiar relationships. *Dumneavoastră* also serves as the plural pronoun of respect. In addition, Romanian is one of the languages that also developed

distinct polite forms for the third person as well (Coffen 2002: 212-219, see also Maley 1974:9). The following table summarizes the new forms of singular address in the Romance languages that we have so far discussed[25].

language	**Informal/familiar**	**Deferential (-/+ distance)**
Catalan	*tu*	*vostè, vós*
French	*tu*	*vous*
Galicien	*tu*/*ti*	*el/ ela, vosté/ vostede*
Italian	*tu*	*Lei*
Romanian	*tu*	*dumneata, dumneavoastră*
Sardinian	*tu*	*bois/fustei/vossia, bosté/bosu, isee/sa mertzei/vissignoria*
Spanish	*tu*	*usted*
Portuguese	*tu*	*você , o senhor/ a senhora*

Table 2. The Binary Pronominal Address System in Several Romance Languages

In sum, towards the late Middle Ages, most Romance languages developed a pronominal address system different from that of Latin. While the pronoun *tu* remains as a familiar pronoun of address for a single addressee in most Romance languages, the deferential pronoun *vos* cannot convey a satisfactory degree of deference towards a single addressee and therefore it has been mostly replaced by third person pronouns, or deferential expressions, which functioned as pronouns of address after being

[25] We should acknowledge that we have been inspired by the study of Coffen (2002), who presents a complete table of the pronominal address system in various Romance languages (2002:287-290). Coffen (2002) has conducted a comprehensive study on the pronominal address system in the Romance languages.

grammaticalized. The pronoun *vos* as a deferential address pronoun, if it did not disappear, was lowered to a familiar pronoun of respect, or its usage becomes restricted to certain contexts. Yet, it preserves its function as a plural pronoun in most Romance languages.

Although it is not within the scope of our study to examine the motivations behind the extreme transformations in pronominal systems of Romance languages, Coffen (2002), in her extensive examination of pronominal systems of all languages of that group, argues that the similarity among recent pronominal systems shows a universal tendency in terms of developing an intermediate deferential pronoun as well as developing a singular pronoun rather than the plural one to indicate respect (Coffen 2002: 220). Brown and Gilman (1960), studying several European languages (e.g. French, German, Italian), believes that the spread of the deferential pronoun, in the first place, was because of contact or rather because of the imitation between languages although no proof has been shown in this respect: "In the Roman Empire only the highest ranking persons had any occasion to address the emperor, and so at first only they made use of V [vous] in the singular. In its later history in other parts of Europe the reverential V was usually adopted by one court in imitation of another. The practice slowly disseminated downward in a society" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 256-257). Whether the evolution of the pronominal systems of most Romance languages is caused by a universal tendency or whether it is also caused by language contact, we may never know. Yet, the pronominal system of a few Romance languages, including French, did not follow this universal tendency and remained intact.

We should also note that *tu* and *vous* gain an additional function in contemporary French. According to Ashby (1992), the pronouns *tu* and *vous* can alternate with *on* as indefinite pronouns. The use of indefinite *tu* and *vous* as alternatives to *on* is shown by Ashby in his interviews with French speaking people of Touraine. The following conversation, for instance, indicates the alternation between *vous* and *on*.

Speaker […] [explaining the advantage of cooking on a wood stove]
Enfin, c'est, *vous* l'allumez le matin, *vous* remplissez euh une demi-heure après euh bien, euh ça va jusqu'à deux heures à peu près. A deux heures *on* recharge, après le service *on* recharge, après euh le soir vers le milieu du service, enfin tout au début, tout au début du service et puis ça tient très, très bien euh jusqu'à la fin. (Ashby 1992:139)

Ashby (1992) emphasizes that by using *vous*, the speaker was not addressing his interlocutor (i.e. Ashby). Rather the speaker made a general statement about the function of wood stoves. Address pronouns in this usage, of course, does not reveal any information about interlocutors or the characteristics of their relationship (see Coffen 2002: 240). From this perspective, we can argue that the pronouns *tu* and *vous* are not pronouns of address when used as generic pronouns.

Although today's French pronominal system does not feature a system reflecting drastic changes-at the surface level- in earlier steps, abnormality in the pronominal address system, where *tu* and *vous* could alternate in a given context, was found, as we discuss in the rest of our research that is dedicated to the evaluation of the functional pattern of the pronouns of address in Medieval French, based on the existing studies.

4.4. MEDIEVAL FRENCH

As pointed out in previous sections, the plural Latin *vos* became a deferential pronoun for a single addressee because of its usage for Roman emperors. Gradually *vos* was used towards other superiors and high ranking positions (e.g. religious leaders). Throughout the Medieval French, *vous* continues to be used among the upper classes, while *tu* remains the pronoun used among the lower classes. However, many linguists observe the inconsistency in the use of these two pronouns, for which they have tried to find explanations.

4.4.1. *Tu* and *Vous* in Early Old French

Because of the lack of direct conversation in most texts of Early Old French, the deferential pronoun was not observed with great frequency. The lack of deferential second plural forms as single pronouns of address traditionally has been blamed on the influence of Latin. For instance, in the examination of *La passion de Christ*, a 10th century Bible paraphrase, Bakos (1955:304) does not find any instances of deferential *vos*. He concludes that the absence of the deferential pronoun is because of the influence of biblical Latin. Likewise, in the examination of *La vie de Saint Alexis*, which was written after a Latin text, both Bakos (1955) and Nyrop (1925) observe the lack of the deferential pronoun in the earliest version of the text: "La plus vieille version de la chanson pieuse de St. Alexis ne connaît que *tu* (à un seul vers près), ce qui est peut-être une imitation du latin. Dans les versions postérieures l'emploi de *vous* devient de plus en plus général" (Nyrop 1925:232). Yet, in the previous section, we saw that the deferential

pronoun became more and more frequent in Latin letters, especially in the 7th and 8th century. It is therefore surprising to see the lack of the deferential pronoun in the earliest version of Saint Alexis, which belongs to the 11th century. Since the religious society of Latin was one of the first communities in which the deferential pronoun emerged, it may not therefore be plausible to relate the absence of the deferential pronoun to the theological content of the text either.

As Nyrop indicated, however, in later versions, the deferential pronoun was used in the text, where both pronouns of address could alternate with each other, addressing a single addressee. For instance, in a version examined by Bakos (1955), the mother of Saint Alexis who used to address Saint Alexis by *tu*, in one instance, shifts from *tu* to *vous* addressing her son (Bakos 1955:305).

(307) *seueals* *de* *ta* *mere* *kar* *aueiz* *merci*
only of your-2Sg. mother Conj. have-2Pl. Imperf. mercy

(*St. Alexis* in Bakos 1955 :305)

'If only you had mercy for your mother'

Bakos (1955) argues that this instance of the alternation is not found in other versions of the text. Therefore, he concludes that scribal error was the origin of the alternation between the two pronouns: "[…] il n'y a pas lieu d'invoquer de raisons métriques et nous avons le droit légitime de supposer qu'il s'agit là d'une faute du scribe" (Bakos 1955: 305). Other instances of the switch between the two pronouns were attested when the wife of Saint Alexis addresses her husband. According to Bakos (1955:305), the French language of that period could be the source of the alternation in those instances.

Similarly, Coffen (2002:80-81) obtains different results from different versions of the text. According to Coffen (2002:80), in a version of the 11th century, *tu* is predominant. The only alternation is made by the wife of Saint Alexis addressing her husband after his death. By contrast, the use of *vous* increases in the following centuries to the extent that in the version of the 14th century, *tu* was rarely used. For instance, in the manuscript of the 13th century, *tu* was used between Saint Alexis and his parents, but *vous* was a pronoun of address among young couples. The only alternation took place when the mother of Saint Alexis addressed her son. However, in a version from the 14th century, no alternation was found in the language of the mother towards her son (Coffen 2002:81).

Bakos (1955) lists *La chanson de Roland* and *Le pèlerinage de Charlemange* as texts written in the second half of the 11th century even though most linguists consider these texts texts belonging to the 12th century (see next section). Comparing these *chansons de geste* 'songs of act' with the previous texts of Early Old French, Bakos (1955) argues that *tu* was the predominant pronoun in religious texts influenced by Latin but *vous* was the pronoun frequently found in non-religious texts:

> Tandis que dans les œuvres traduites du latin ecclésiastique ou influencées par le style biblique c'est le « *tu* patriarchal »[26] qui prévaut, dans les sujets séculiers c'est le « *vos* reverentiae » né des besoins d'une société ayant une hiérarchie plus développée qui l'emporte. Charlemagne et ses barons, les preux chrétiens entre

[26] No clear definition is given by the author to clarify the term 'patriarchal *tu*'. The author believes that the patriarchal *tu* led to the use of deferential *tu* in Old French where *tu* would indicate humility and submission of the speaker (see Bakos 1955: 307, 309). However, because *tu* was a usual and predominant address pronoun in Latin, it is not clear which criteria would distinguish the usual address pronoun *tu* from patriarchal *tu*.

> eux se donnent presque exclusivement le vos honorifique et cet état de choses ne change pas, quand nous sommes chez les Sarrasins. Il est notoire que la représentation de la cour d'un chef sarrasin est copiée sur celle de Charlemagne ou du roi de France. (Bakos 1955 : 306)

Bakos (1955) subsequently adds that *tu* was generally used for social and emotional motives in *La chanson de Roland* and *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. For instance, using *tu* towards inferiors or equals would be triggered by social motives, while its usage in moments of pain, fury, fight, etc., would show the emotional state of the speaker (e.g. *Tais Olivier* 'be silent, Olivier' [*La chanson de Roland* 1026-27 in Bakos 1955:308]). Yet, the author also indicates instances where the use of either pronoun could not be explained by the above motives (Bakos 1955: 305-311). The alternation between the two pronouns could, however, occur as Bakos (1955) shows in an example from *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne*:

(308) [Emperor Huon to Charlemagne]

A	*feit,*	*dreiz*	*emperere,*	*jo*	*sai*	*que*	*Deus*	*vous*
indeed	fair	emperor	I	know-1Sg.	that	God	you-2Pl. Obl.	

aimet |	*Tis*	*hoem*	*voeil*	*devenir,*	*de*	
like-3Sg.Subju.	your.2Sg.	man	want-1Sg.	become-Inf.	of	

tei	*tendrai*	*mon*	*regne,*|	*Mon*	*tresor*	*te*
your-2Sg.	hold.1Sg.Fut.	my	kingdom	my	treasure	to you.2Sg.

donrai,	*si*	*le*	*menras*	*en*	*France.*
give-1Sg.Fut.	if	that	take-2Sg.Fut.	in	France

(*Charlemagne* 796-798 in Bakos 1955: 310)

'Indeed, fair emperor, I know that God likes you. I want to become one of your men. I want to give you my kingdom and my treasure, if you take it to France.

After close examination of the texts of the 11th century, Bakos concludes that instances of the use of *tu* were well motivated: "Et voici quelle sera notre conclusion sur l'état des choses au onzième siècle: sauf dans le cas de quelques empolis spéciaux, on n'emploie *tu* que pour des motifs bien distincts. Quant à l'alternance des deux formules, nous dirons qu'elle est très fréquente dans des situations tendues mais nous n'en avons relevé que fort peu d'exemples non motivés […] " (Bakos 1955:310-311). Our own analysis of Early Old French will bring up different comments and analysis, given that we analyze *La chanson de Roland* as an Old French text. The focus of most studies, however, was on the later centuries, when the literature included a greater variety of texts.

4.4.2. *Tu* and *Vous* in Old French

Our review has so far indicated that the use of *vos* (i.e. French *vous*) as a singular pronoun of address became more frequent by the late period of Latin, when it was established as a deferential pronoun. Yet, the alternation between *tu* and *vos*, addressing the same individual, started to occur as soon as the pronoun *vos* functioned as a singular pronoun of address. Linguists have continued to find an explanation for the phenomenon. In this section, we will therefore cover some hypotheses offered for this problem, which are divided into two groups: 1) absence of a governing rule, 2) distribution of address pronoun on the basis of social and emotional factors.

Nyrop (1925:232) argues that there was no rule for the use of either *tu* or *vous* in Medieval French: "Dans la vieille langue, on emploie tantôt *tu* tantôt *vos* sans aucune règle fixe, et l'usage reste longtemps flottant." He points to the alternation between *tu* and

vous in a few texts of Old French such as *La chanson de Roland* (12th c.) and *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaün (12th c.).

(309) […] *Sire* *cumpainz,* *mar* *fut* *vostre* *barnage!*
lord companion unfortunate be-3Sg.Perf. your-2Pl. noblesse

Jamais *n'* *iert* *hume* *ki* *tun* *cors* *cuntrevaillet.*
never not be- 3Sg.Fut. man who your-2Sg. courage equal-3Sg.

(*Rol.*, 1982-84 in Nyrop 1925:232)

'Lord companion, your noblesse was not rewarded; there will be never anyone with such courage'

The two pronouns could be used side by side even in addressing animals or unanimated objects (e.g. heroes in *La chanson de Roland* would address their horses or weapons using either *tu* or *vous* [Nyrop 1925:232, see Coffen 2002:85]). The following example, for instance, shows moments when Roland talks to his sword, Durendal, in a single discourse.

(310) *Ne* *vos* *ait* *hume* *ki* *facet*
not you-2Pl.Obl. have-3Sg.Subju. man who do-3Sg.Subju.

cuardie (*Rol.,* 2353 in Nyrop 1925 :232, see also Wolff 1988:65)
coward

'Never a coward should have you'

(311) *E!* *Durendal,* *cum* *es* *bele* *e* *seintisme*
Interj. Durendal how be-2Sg. beautiful and very holy

'Ah! Durendal, how you are beautiful and holy'

(*Rol.*, 2344 in Nyrop1925:232, see also Wolff 1988 :65)

Abstract terms (e.g. *fortune*, *mort*, etc) would be addressed by *tu* (Coffen 2002:85). Land, on the other hand can be addressed by *vous* or by *tu* in the moments of sorrow (see Wolf 1988:64).

Nyrop (1925) is not the only linguist who believes in the lack of rules in the use of the pronominal address system of Old French. Foulet (1930), examining the play of *Courtois d'Arras* of the 13th century, argues that the alternation between *tu* and *vous* was random: "Ces variations semblent se produire absolument au hazard; les circonstances n'y sont pour rien […], c'est dans la même conversation, parfois dans la même phrase qu'on passe du *tu* au *vous* ou du *vous* au *tu* … " (Foulet 1930 :199). The alternations are even called *ces bizarreries déconcertantes* 'these disconcerting strangeness'.

(312) *Biaus fieus Cortois, car soiés chois,*
dear son Cortois Conj. be-2Pl.Imp.Subju. calm

si mangiés del pain et des pois,
Conj. eat-2Pl.Imp. Art. bread and Art. peas

si lai ester ta fole entente.
Conj. leave-2Sg.Imp. be-Inf. your-2Sg. insane intention

(*Arras,* 49-51 in Foulet 1930 :199)

'Dear son Cortois, be silent, eat the bread and peas, and let go your insane intention'

The alternation between *tu* and *vous* was further attested by Foulet (1930:200-201) in the fable *La male honte* (13th c.) and in the play *Le jeu de la feuillée* (13th c.). His observation highlights the alternation between the two pronouns in different types of relationships (e.g. in a conversation between son and father, a villain and a king, a

bourgeois and an aristocrat). It is necessary to note that Foulet is among the few linguists who provide us with the actual number of alternations. However, since the overall number of the use of *tu* or *vous* in symmetrical or asymmetrical usages is not provided, we cannot tell whether the alternation between the pronouns was frequent at the time.

Other linguists, on the other hand, analyzing various texts of Old French texts, have tried to solve this issue by implying the social status of the interlocutors, the attitude of the interlocutors or contextual circumstances. Moignet (1973:262-263) argues that the use of pronouns of address would gradually depend on social orders. *Tu* was reserved for inferiors, but it was also used to show close friendship, or to express the violent and hostile attitude. Hunt (2003:56), while rejecting the idea of the random use of the two pronouns, indicates that in his brief examination of an Anglo–Norman play, namely *Seinte Resureccion*, the coherent and consistent use of the pronouns of address "corresponds to the dramatic and psychological requirements of characterisation, particularly, of course, the relationships of the characters." Coffen (2002) argues that the pronouns of address were used according to the social norms of the aristocratic society of that time. *Vous* was a pronoun of address among upper class society, as well as a pronoun for superiors, female addressees, and sometimes for inferiors, while *tu* was used by equals of lower class society or by strangers. *Tu* could also be used to show intimacy, emotion, inferiority of the addressee or superiority of the speaker (Coffen 2002: 79, 82). Buridant (2000:422) similarly believes that the use of pronouns of address could depend on the hierarchical or emotional relations between interlocutors.

The symmetrical and asymmetrical use of the pronouns depended on the social status and the social class of the interlocutors. Examples of the use of *vous* as a usual address pronoun among nobility are attested in *La chanson de Roland*. Charlemagne is always addressed by *vous* (Coffen 2002:78-79), except by the envoys of the emir Baligant, who address Charlemagne by *tu* (Wolff 1988:64). *Vous* was even an address term between the two friends Olivier and Roland (Coffen 2002:78-79). In fact, Wolff (1988:63), indicates that *vous* was predominant in *La chanson de Roland* (135 instances of *vous* vs. 33 instances of *tu* and 5 instances of alternation) to the extent that it was even used towards inferiors: Charlemagne uses *vous* to his barons; King Marsile uses *vous* to Ganelon (the envoy of Charlemagne) and his inferior pagans; Emir Baligant uses *vous* to his son or brother.

Superiority in both social and familial scales would always trigger the use of the deferential pronoun:

> Dans les textes du Moyen Âge, les personnes supérieures de la hiérarchie soit sociale soit familiale sont censés recevoir un V[vous], à savoir les parents, les aînés, les princes et rois et toute personne noble amie ou non, les bourgeois, mais aussi les personnes d'un niveau social inférieur, ainsi que les gens de l'Église et de toute évidence, les dames, même très jeunes. Seuls les gens du people et parfois les domestiques reçoivent un *tu*. (Coffen 2002: 82-83)

Ola Breivega (1975) examines 34 fables, written by Marie de France (12th c.), about the world of animals, on the basis of the notions of power and solidarity introduced by Brown and Gilman (1960). In the course of a conversation, the more powerful animal receives *vous* (e.g. wolf receives *vous* from lamb, lion receives *vous* from fox), while the

less powerful one receives *tu* (e.g. lamb receives *tu* from wolf, fox receives *tu* from lion). The equality of power or solidarity between the two animals, on the other hand, triggers a symmetrical use of *tu* among less powerful animals and a symmetrical use of *vous* among more powerful animals (e.g. ant and locust address each other with *tu*; fox and monkey address each other with *vous*). However, Ola Brievega (1975:39) also attests instances of the violation of the rules. For instance, the donkey addresses the lion by *tu* instead of *vous*. Similarly, instances of alternation between the two pronouns are attested (e.g. wolf addresses dog by both pronouns [Ola Brievega 1975:33-34]). Yet, the instances of the violations or alternations are not frequent. The examples introduced by Ola Brievega (1975) suggest that a determined social status of the interlocutors could lead to a clear and more stabilized use of pronouns of address.

As mentioned earlier, the social differences or similarities were not the only factor in the use of pronouns of address in Old French. The emotional attitude of the speaker would also play a role in the choice of the pronouns. For instance, Wolff (1988) points to the infrequent use of *tu* in emotional instances in the '*Chanson de Roland*'. In moments of fight, *tu* was sometimes used between enemies. Likewise, *tu* was seen in moments of anger, as when Ganelon, the stepfather of Roland addresses him furiously (Wolff 1988:63).

(313) *Guenes respunt : "Pur mei n' <u>iras</u> <u>tu</u> mie!..."*
Ganelon respond.3Sg. for me not go-2Sg.Fut. you-2Sg.Subj. Neg.

(*Rol.,* 296 in Wolff 1988:63)

'Ganelon responds: You will not go for me'

The use of pronouns in addressing God could vary as well. Although God usually was addressed by *tu* (Coffen 2002:85, see also Moignet 1973:262), the two pronouns could generally alternate in prayers (see Buridant 2000, Wolf 1988: 64). The alternation in those cases was not an isolated phenomenon to Buridant (2000), who claims that the alternation in prayers or elsewhere could generally occur because of affectionate and emotional feelings of the speaker such as strong expressions of petitions, requests, remarks, mourning, regrets, change of mood, etc. The following example from the 13th century text, *La prise d'Orange,* for instance, shows the alternation between *tu* and *vous* in a petition:

(314) *Amirauz, sire, entendez envers moi.| Car me*
emir lord listen-2Pl.Imp. towards me Conj. to me

di ore se de mielz m' en seroit
tell-2Sg.Imp. Conj. if Prep. better for me Pron. be-3Sg. Cond.

Se te rendoie Guillelme le Francois
if to you-2Sg. return-1Sg.Imperf. Guillaume Art. Francois

Qu' en ta prison le peüsses avoir
so that in your-2Sg. prison him can-2Sg.Subju. have-Inf.

(*PriseOr,* 1144-47 in Buridant 2000 :422)

'Emir, lord, listen to me and tell me if it would be better for me to return Guillaume the François to you so that you can have him in your prison'

The alternation between the two pronouns in expressing mourning or regret is similarly presented from passages of *Aliscans*, a text of the 12th century.

(315) *Vivïens, sire, mar fu <u>vostre</u> bonté*
Vivien lord misfortune be-3Sg.Perf. your-2Pl. goodness

<u>Ta</u> grant proesce, que Diex <u>t'</u> aveit
your-2Sg. great bravery that God you-2Sg.Obl. have-3Sg.Aux.Imperf.

doné, | <u>Ton</u> hardement et <u>ta</u> nobilité
given-Part. your-2Sg. courage and your-2Sg. nobility

Ne porroit estre par nul home conté
not can-3Sg.Cond. be-Inf. by no man counted.

Je <u>vos</u> norri par mout grant chierté
I you-2Pl.Obl. raise-1Sg.Perf. by very great value

(*Alisc.,* 882-86 in Buridant 2000 :421-422)

'Lord Vivien, what an unfortunate fate for your goodness! No one is able to count your great bravery that God had given you, your courage and your nobility. I raised you with great value'

The number of alternations attested by Buridant (2000), however, is unknown to us.

According to Coffen (2002:79-80), the texts written by Chrétien de Troyes are good examples of the alternation between the two pronouns indicating the strong feelings or emotions of the speaker. In addition, shifting from one pronoun to another can occur in order to be flattering. Referring to a study of Ganter (1905), Coffen (2002:82) indicates that in the fables, a powerful animal could intentionally address an inferior to flatter him/her, and receive *tu* from the inferior animal who realizes the possible trap. It should be noted that although Coffen (2002) points to the frequent instances of the alternation between the two pronouns in Old French texts, no numerical data is offered to show the great frequency of the variation between the two pronouns. Moignet (1973:263), who conducted one of the earliest analyses on the alternation between the two pronouns, also

presents only a few instances of the alternation from *Le couronnement de Louis* or from *La folie de Tristan* without providing us with any numerical data.

One of the extensive and detailed studies on the alternation between the two pronouns in Old French was conducted by Bakos (1955). The study of Bakos is in line with the studies of Coffen (2002) and Buridant (2000). Bakos (1955) also believes that the use of *tu* and *vous* or the alternation between them in Old French had legitimate reasons, at least in most instances. Referring to Foulet (1930), for instance, Bakos (1955:329,340) shows that for all the instances of passing from one pronoun to the other, there could be a motive and that he does not agree with the theory of Foulet, who suggests that there was no rule for the use of pronouns. Bakos (1955) examines more than twenty texts of different types (e.g. religious texts, plays, novels, etc.) from the 12th to the 13th centuries[27]. In the 12th century, Bakos (1955) observes a considerable number of alternations between *tu* and *vous*, which according to him, mostly occurs in the conversation of people belonging to the same social class. In most instances, alternations were motivated by social or emotional motives, but there were instances in which the alternation could not be explained on the basis of social or emotional factors. Bakos (1988:317, 340) argues that unmotivated alternation between the two pronouns could

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[27] The following texts were examined by Bakos (1955):

1st half of the 12th c.: *La chanson de Guillaume* (*chanson de geste*), *Le couronnement de Louis* (chanson de geste)
2nd half of the 12th c.: Les quatre *livres des Rois* (religious text), *Moniage Guillaume* (*chanson de geste*), *Aliscans* (*chanson de geste*), *Jeu d'Adam* (play), *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* (play), *Courtois d'Arras* (play), *Yvain* (novel), *Cligés* (novel), *Guillaume d'Angleterre* (novel), *Tristan* (novel), *Lais de Marie de France* (short story), *Le roman de Renart* (fable).
1st half of the 13th c.: *Le roman de Troie* (novel), *La queste del Saint Graal* (novel), *Le roman de Lancelot* (novel), *La fille du comte de Ponthieu* (short story), *Aucassin et Nicolette* (short story), *Les fabliaux* (fable), Villehardouin (chronicle), Robert de Clary (chronicle)
2nd half of the 13th c.: *La châtelaine de Vergi* (short story), *Roman de la Rose* (novel), *Le miracle de Théophile* (play), *Le jeu de la feuillée* d'Adame de la Hall (play), Philippe de Navarre (chronicle), Joinville (chronicle).

occur by copyists or poets in order to respect metrical rules. It seems that many linguists agree with the manipulation of authors or copyists (see Coffen 2002:79, see Brown and Gilman 1960:255). Buriant (2000) not only points to the switch from one pronoun to another for metrical reasons, he also points to the orthographic confusion of the verb endings by copyists of the 13th century (Buridant 2000:423). The verb ending of the second person plural (i.e. 'z') could be confused with the verb ending of the second person singular (i.e.'s') because of phonological reduction. What is, however, not mentioned by Buridant (2000) is that this confusion could only occur for certain group of verbs that had these endings in their conjugations (e.g. indicative verbs in -er).

Mason (1990), who examines the alternation between the pronouns in the '*Roman de la Rose*' of the 13th century, rejects firmly the random use of the two pronouns and shows that no dramatic changes occur in the use of the address pronouns in the 13th century in comparison to the previous century:

> The Old French studies show that by the 13th century, V [vous] was established as the appropriate pronoun to use when addressing one's superiors, and it was also the standard pronoun of address used reciprocally among adult members of polite society, where even among relatives and friends it was the norm. T [tu], on the other hand, seems to be reserved for prayer, and for addressing persons of junior status and social inferiors, and also for uncourtly creatures like dwarfs and giants, who gave T as well as receiving it. In addition to these norms, expressive or dramatic effects could be created by an unexpected pronoun use: using T, for example, to someone who would normally receive V, to indicate such temporary emotions as tenderness, hostility, or defiance on the part of the speaker towards the addressee. (Mason 1990:95)

However, according to Bakos (1955: 354, 356), in the 13th century, the use of the two pronouns is more stabile. *Tu* is used in fewer social and emotional instances, and *vous*

becomes the predominant pronoun, while the unmotivated alternation between the two pronouns becomes less frequent. Yet, the alternation between the two pronouns could very well take place depending on the discourse situation (Bakos 1955:354).

An overview of social and emotional motives leading to the general use of *tu* in Old French is presented by Bakos (1955:360) as follows:

<u>*Tutoiement*</u> <u>'saying tu':</u>

A) MOTIFS SOCIAUX	'social motives' :
1) "tu à un inférieur"	'*tu* for inferior'
a) commandement	'command'
b) les voix célestes	'heavenly voices'
c) tu simple à un inférior	'*tu* for inferior'
d) tu à un inconnu	'*tu* for stranger'
2) "tu entre des égaux"	'*tu* between equals'
a) "tu" amical	'friendly tu'
b) " tu" amoureux	'intimate tu'
3) "tu reverentiae"	'deferential tu'
a) soumission	'submission'
b) appel au secours	'call for help'
c) "tu de sympathie"	'*tu* of sympathy'
d) supplication	'plea'
4) "tu aux jeunes"	'*tu* to young people'
a) motif social	'social motive'
b) motif familial	'family motive'
5) paroles des messagers	'words of messengers'
6) scène de consultation	'consultation scene'
" tu ecclésiastique"	'ecclesaistical tu'

B)	*MOTIFS AFFECTIFS*	'emotional motives'
1)	*douleur*	'pain'
	a) compassion	'compassion'
	b) complainte [...]	'complain'
2)	*fureur*	'fury'
	a) colère	'anger'
	b) mépris	'contempt for'
	c) reproche, remontrance	'reproach'
3)	*scène de bataille*	'battle scene'
	a) apostrophe à l'ennemi	'remark to enemy'
	b) défi	'challenge'
	c) joute oratoire	'oratory duel'
4)	"*tu de gratitude"*	'*tu of gratitude'*

(Bakos 1955 :360)

According to Bakos (1955:360), unlike the pronoun *tu*, *vous* can be used in all the above instances. In addition, *vous* can be used as *vous de contentement*, which is the emotional aspect of the deferential *vous* (Bakos 1955: 315). For instance, in '*Chanson de Guillaume*', Guillaume decides that the commissionaire is his counselor and addresses him by the *vous de contentement*: *Ainceis serez mes maistre conseilliers* 'In this way, you (2Pl.) will be my master counselor' (in Bakos 1955: 315).

The overview of Bakos (1955) still raises questions. For instance, if, as according to Bakos (1955), the honorific *vous* can be used in any instance despite the particular social and emotional settings, it is still unclear why speakers would choose *tu* over *vous*. In addition, it is unclear why a speaker would use *tu* as a deferential pronoun. Bakos (1955) argues that the deferential *tu* is inherited from the patriarchal Latin *tu*, for which, no sufficient explanation was offered either. In addition, the categorization of Bakos

(1955), like other studies, shows the motivations for the use of *tu* without distinguishing the normal and established pattern of the use of *tu* (e.g. *tu* towards inferior) from its occasional usage (e.g. use of *tu* as a sign of emotion). After reviewing the above studies, it is our belief that most probably the alternation between the two pronouns would occur because of emotional circumstances rather than social ones. Finally, similar to most discussed studies, the numerical data are not provided in the study of Bakos (1955) and we are not aware of the frequency of the use of the pronoun *tu* or *vous* in any instances.

Even though most linguists point to the frequent alternation between the two pronouns, as pointed out earlier, several studies acknowledge the absence of frequent alternation between pronouns in a few texts such as *La chanson de Roland*. Like Bakos (1955) (see section 4.4.1), Wolff (1988) does not find frequent alternation between *tu* and *vous* in his examination of the '*Chanson de Roland*' (see also section 4.4.1). He only attests the alternation in 5 cases. The alternation between *tu* and *vous* was attested when Roland was talking to his sword, as we discussed earlier, and in instances of mourning and sorrow. One of the instances of the alternation between the two pronouns was seen when Roland was talking to the corpse of his friend (Wolff 1988:65):

(316) *Sire* *cumpainz,* *tant* *mar* *fustes* *hardiz!*
lord companion so much unfortunate be-2Pl.Perf. courage

Ensemble *avum* *estet* *e* *anz* *e* *dis,*
together have-1Pl.Aux. been Conj. years and days

Nem *fesis* *mal* *ne* *jo* *nel* *te* *forfis.*
not me do-2Sg.Perf. pain not I not that you-2Sg.Obl. hurt-1Sg.Perf.

Quant	*tu*	*es*	*mor,*	*dulur*	*est*	*que*	*jo*	*vif.*
when	you-2Sg.	be-2Sg.	dead	pain	be-3Sg.	that	I	live-1Sg.

(*Rol.,* 2027-2030 in Wolff 1988:65)

> 'Lord companion, what a misfortune for your courage! We have been together years and days, you did not cause any pain for me and I did not hurt you either. Now that you are dead, its painful for me to live'

Wolff (1988), in his study, compares *La chanson de Roland* with three other heroic poems of different languages: *Beowulf* (8th c.) in Anglo-Saxon, *Rolandslied* (12th c.), a version of '*Chanson de Roland*', in German (Middle High German/Old High German), and *Cantar de mio Cid* (12th c.) in Castilian. Wolff (1988) observes the predominance of the deferential pronouns in Romance languages and the rare instances of the alternation between the two pronouns in those langauges: "Venons-en aux langues romanes. Comme *la Chanson de Roland, le Poema de mio Cid* utilise surtout le « vous ». Dans l'une et l'autre, le « tu » est une exception, réservée aux moments les plus tragiques, aux mouvements de l'âme, qu'il contribue à révéler—le discours mixte étant un raffinement " (Wolff 1988 : 74).

In sum, the studies discussed in this section indicate that *vous* as a deferential pronoun spreads in Old French. Earlier linguists, who observed the frequent alternation between the two pronouns, assumed that there was a lack of rules for the use of address pronouns in Old French. More recent linguists, rejecting the idea of the random use of the pronouns, suggest that the social status of the speaker and the addressee are determining factors in the use of the pronouns of address. *Tu* would be a pronoun for inferiors or a pronoun of address among people of the lower social class. *Vous*, on the other hand, is

institutionalized as a pronoun of address among upper class society or a pronoun for superiors. Yet, *tu* could be a pronoun indicating the emotional status of the speaker; it could be used to show anger, intimacy, etc. The liberty in the use of *tu* to indicate feelings of the speaker would cause the frequent alternation between the two pronouns while addressing the same person. Yet, scholars occasionally encountered instances where they could not explain the switch from one pronoun to another on the basis of the emotional status of the speaker or even on the basis of the social status of the interlocutors. In those cases, the alternation between the two pronouns was attributed to the manipulation of authors, who wished to respect metrical rules, to the mistake of copyists, or to the archaic use of the usual Latin *tu*.

Although in each study, the author provides us with number of examples to show the use of address pronouns in that period, most studies did not clearly distinguish the situations where the use of either of the pronouns was the norm and situations where some factors could cause alternations between the two pronouns. In addition, the corpus used in most of the studies was not specified by the authors. Therefore, we are unable to tell whether their results are drawn following the examination of the entire texts or the examination of some passages. More importantly, no statistical data were provided to show the high frequency of the alternation between the pronouns, and the register of the examined texts was barely mentioned in the studies even though Bakos (1955:341) himself accepts that some texts had more elevated style than others. Therefore we will address the questions that are not quite answered in the above studies, in the next chapter, presenting our own data: Could alternation occur more frequently in a particular register?

Would all texts show a relatively high frequency of alternation? Can the alternation just be a continuation of the archaic alternation in Latin or will be new systems in the horizon? The less frequent alternation between the two pronouns in the second half of the 13th century (see Bakos 1955), however, suggests that the pronominal address system was going to follow a more restrict rule in Middle French.

4.4.3. Middle French

Studies on address pronouns in the 14th and the 15th centuries are not numerous. Mason (1990) examines three texts of the 15th century: *Les quinze joies de mariage*, *Jehan de Saintré* and *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*. According to Mason (1990:95-96), *vous* was the predominant pronoun in the 15th century and *tu* was the less frequent one. He observes the use of *vous* among spouses, relatives, friends or as a courtship pronoun among people of different social status. *Vous* also continued to be a pronoun for addressing superiors. Adopting the study of Brown and Gilman (1960), Mason (1990:96) summarizes the use of pronouns of address, in Medieval French, using notions of power and solidarity: The superior or more powerful individual receives *vous* (e.g. parents receive *vous* from their children) and the inferior or less powerful interlocutor receives *tu* (e.g. "a grandmother addresses her grandson as T [*tu*] and he responds with V [*vous*]"; "the drunk requesting confession uses V and the priest responds with T" [examples attested in *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* by Mason [1990:96]). The reciprocal *tu* and *vous* are, on the other hand, used among individuals of equal power or social status (e.g. *tu* among the lower social class and *vous* among the upper social class). Therefore, the

symmetrical and asymmetrical usages of the address pronouns on the basis of the social classes can be illustrated as follows:

Social class	Pron.
high↔ high	V
low↔ low	T
high→low	T
low→ high	V

The alternation between the two pronouns addressing the same person is also attested by Mason, although the author does not mention how frequently the alternation could occur.

Similar results are found by Maley (1974) who, referring to the study of Schliebitz (1886) on the literary texts of the 14th and 15th centuries, argues that *vous* is used more frequently among friends of upper class society, except in emotional situations where *tu* is the pronoun of address. People of the lower social class continues to use the pronoun *tu*. The alternation between *tu* and *vous* still continues; yet, the alternation is found less frequent in comparison to the previous centuries. Maley (1974:22) further concludes that "the system of pronouns of address is advancing towards a codification."

The review of studies on the Middle French pronominal address system shows that linguists are still concerned with the alternation between the two pronouns when the speaker addresses a single addressee. Their effort was either to confirm the explanations of their colleagues who had studied the alternation between the two pronouns in Old French, or to find new explanations for this phenomenon.

Mason (1990), who firmly rejects the idea of random alternation between the two pronouns, has tried to explain the attested alternation between the two pronouns in the

texts of the 15th century, on the basis of the study of Brown and Gilman (1960) and therefore on the basis of relative power or solidarity between interlocutors. For instance, Mason (1990:97) finds the alternation between *tu* and *vous* in a conversation between a gentleman and a shepherd. A gentleman, as a superior, addresses the terrified shepherd with *tu* (*Demeure* [2Sg.]*, demeure, dist- il, tu* [2Sg.] *n'as garde* [*C.N.,* in Mason 1990:97] 'Remain, remain, he said, you should not be afraid'), but he changes from *tu* to vous when he realizes that the shepherd is the one whose sister he wants to marry (*Vous estes* [2Pl.] *et serez* [2Pl.] *mon frère* [*C.N.*, in Mason 1990:97] 'you are and will be my brother'). Another example is the alternation in a conversation between a mother and her daughter, attested by Mason (1990) in *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*. When as a norm, the mother addresses her daughter by *tu*, she switches to *vous* when she finds her daughter crying and in distress. According to Mason (1990), the shift from *tu* to *vous* would indicate that "V [*vous*] as the pronoun of equals serves as a gentler form of address than T [*tu*], the pronoun of a superior to an inferior" (Mason 1990:97). In another example from *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Mason (1990) explains the change from the pronoun of solidarity *tu* to non-solidarity *vous*. An English captain, interrogating his soldier about the capture of a Frenchman, addresses the soldier by *tu* as a sign of solidarity rather than superiority; however in a moment of disagreement and anger, the captain switches to *vous* to indicate the loss of solidarity between him and the soldier (Mason 1990: 98-99). The number of alternation in those texts is not discussed in the article.

Suomela-Härmä and Härmä (2006) examine the alternation between the address pronouns in the religious plays of the 15th century to show that most hypotheses that were

previously offered to explain the alternation between the two pronouns in Old French may apply to the data of the 15th century as well. For instance, metrical and stylistic factors or the confusion between the verbal endings of the second person singular and the second person plural (i.e. the confusion between‘s’ and ‘z’) are mentioned as the source of small number of variations. In the following example from *La résurrection du Sauveur*, the authors show the confusion between the verbal endings, where *sachez* may not be a second person plural but rather the second person singular.

(317) *Pilatus*

Dan	*Joseph,*	*bien*	*seies*	*tu*	*venuz,*
lord	Joseph	well	be-2Sg.Subju.	you-2Sg.Subj.	come-Part.

Ben	*deiz*	*estre*	*de*	*mei*	*receuz,* [...]
well	must-2Sg.	be-Inf.	of	me	received-Part.

Sachez	*ben*	*e*	*verraiment*
know-2Pl	well	and	really

Que	*jeo*	*te*	*orrai*	*mult*	*dulcement*
that	I	you-2Sg.	listen-1Sg.Fut.	much	carefully

(*R. Sauveur* 43-44, in Suomela-Härmä& Härmä 2006 :232)

‘Lord Joseph, you are welcome. I must receive you warmly, and you should know that I will certainly listen to you carefully’

In addition, referring to the study of linguists such as Ehrimsmann (1902) or Ganter (1905), Suomela-Härmä & Härmä (2006: 234-236) indicate that a certain number of alternations occur as speakers use fixed expressions. The pronoun in these expressions, which the authors call *variation formelle* ‘formal variation’, does not change, and could be different from the pronoun that the speaker uses in the rest of the context. For instance, the use of pronoun in a fixed expression is shown by the following example: *Or dy*

comment vous va? (in Suomela-Härmä & Härmä [2006:236], referring to Rubin [1910]). The translation would be 'So, tell (2Sg), how are you (2Pl) doing?'. It should be added that no information is given by the authors about the text in which this verse is found or about the interlocutors and the context.

Suomela-Härmä & Härmä (2006), referring to Ganter (1905), argue that in addition to formal variation, the emotional state of the speakers could cause the shift of pronouns. The authors add that their data indicate that alternations mostly take place in moments of anger, irritation or contempt (2006:235). Yet, the more frequent alternation between the two pronouns, mostly from *vous* to *tu*, was attested in certain types of utterance such as prayers, orders in imperatives, invocations followed by thanking, rhetorical questions, or threats followed sometimes by insults (Suomela-Härmä & Härmä 2006: 240-242). These types of utterances, however, can still be related to the emotional state of the speaker:

> Reste le facteur le plus courant qui est, nous semble-t-il, lié à la nature de l'acte de langage. Les énoncés où l'on rencontre le plus souvent la variation sont en effet des *menaces* […] parfois accompagnées d'*injures*, des *ordres* […], normalement émis à l'impératif, ainsi que des *prières* […] ou *invocations* adressées aux puissances supérieures, souvent suivies ultérieurement de *remerciements*. En ce qui concerne les menaces et les ordres, l'action semble prendre une mauvaise tournure au moment où ces actes de langage sont proférés. De ce point de vue, il n'est pas étonnant qu'il se produise alors un changement dans la manière de s'adresser à son interlocuteur. En outre, on ne peut pas ne pas noter le grand nombre de *questions* […] souvent rhétoriques, posées par les personnages et semblant entraîner une alternance.
>
> (Suomela-Härmä & Härmä 2006: 240)

The examples given by Suomela-Hrämä & Härmä (2006) to show the alternation between the two pronouns can be controversial. The switch from *vous* to *tu* in interrogative sentences is shown in a conversation between a captain and a valet from the text *La vie de Marie Magdaleine par personnages*. While the captain addresses the valet by *vous*, he changes to *tu* in interrogative and imperative sentences (verses 1153-1160, in Suomela-Härmä & Härmä 2006: 240). Since the use of *tu* to an inferior was conventional, it is, therefore, the use of *vous* that is unusual in this context and needs explanations. Another flaw is seen in an example from *Le mystère de Saint Sébastien* when the emperor talks to an addressee, not identified or mentioned in the article. The emperor in his speech gives orders in the form of requests. While in one instance, the pronoun *tu* is used, in another instance the speaker uses *vous*.

(318) *Imperator* 'emperor'

Or	*me*	*dictes*	*en*	*quel*	*païs*
Conj.	me	say-2Pl.Imp.	in	which	country

se	*tient*	*il,*	*et*	*out*	*est*	*som*	*estre*
Refl.	hold-3Sg.	he	and	where	be-3Sg.	his	residence

Puisque	*il*	*le*	*convient*	*cognoistre.*
because	it	him	convenient-Impers.	recognize-Inf.

Il	*faut*	*sçavoir*	*out*	*il*	*demeure.*
It	need.3Sg-Impers.	know	where	he	live-3Sg.

Dis	*nous*	*en*	*yci*	*en*	*ceste*	*heure*
tell-2Sg.Imp.	to us	in	here	in	this	hour

Affin	*que*	*nous*	*sachons*	*qu'*	*il*	*est...*
so that		we	know-1Pl.Subju.	that	he	be-3Sg.

(*St. Sébastien* 4128-4133 in Suomela-Härmä& Härmä 2006 :241)

> 'So tell us to which country he belongs and where is his residence! It is convenient to recognize him. We must know where he lives. Tell us now and at this hour, so that we know who he is…'

According to Suomela-Härmä & Härmä (2006), there was a tendency to switch from *vous* to *tu* while using the imperative. The two imperatives used in the above example are *dictes* and *dic*. We accept that *dic* is used with a firmer tone, yet there is no significant difference in the contexts surrounding these two forms; therefore, the switch from *vous* to *tu* is expected in both instances. Moreover, the number of instances where alternations occur is not mentioned in this study either.

Another point that deserves to be discussed is the occurrence of the alternation between the two pronouns in both the spoken and written language. The inaccessibility to speakers of Medieval French and the low number of letters in hand from Old and Middle French forced the majority of linguists to study the alternation between the two pronouns on the basis of the literary texts. Yet, Foulet (1930), reviewing the alternation in Old French, assumes that the literary texts of that period were probably the images of the language of the people. In his article about the alternation between the two pronouns in Middle French, Foulet (1918-1919) confirms that, in fact, the variation between the two pronouns existed in the spoken French of that period. He refers to the 14th and 15thcenturies texts[28] that were written aiming to teach French to the English. In these educational texts, one can easily find the alternation between the two pronouns: "Et rien

[28] Foulet refers to the two following texts (see Foulet 198-1919: 501-503):
-la *Manière de langage qui enseigne à parler et à écrire le français*, published by P.Meyer in *Revue critique* of 1870.
-*Dialogues français* published by P. Meyer in *Romania* 32 of 1903.

ici qui puisse faire soupçonner un emprunt quelconque à la littérature. Il s'agit d'une modeste « méthode de français » à l'usage des Anglais, où l'on vise simplement à reproduire le parler de tous les jours : « [master to servant] [...] Janyn !----Mon signeur ?-- *Va* devant et *prennez* nostre hostal par temps. » « [servant to hotelier] Hosteler, or *escoultez*; je *te* pri primierement que *tu vius* couper de boais, et me *faitez* un bon feu, car il fait grant froit.»"(Foulet 1918-1919 :502).

The review of studies, which for the most part deal with texts that we do not discuss in Chapter 5, suggests that the pronominal address system in Middle French was not yet stabilized and the alternation between the pronouns still continued. Although linguists have tried to come up with new explanations**,** their theories seem to be the continuation of usual hypotheses and explanations about the alternation between the two pronouns**.**

4.5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have focused on the use of the familiar pronoun *tu* and the formal pronoun *vous* in French. *Vous* was originally a second person plural and not a deferential pronoun for addressing a single addressee. The use of a plural pronoun as a deferential singular pronoun, however, is attested in a large number of languages. Many linguists, therefore, associate pluralization with deference. They believe that by pluralizing the pronoun, the speaker avoids direct address. Some languages, on the other hand, developed a third person singular as a deferential pronoun because it has been argued that the third person pronoun is less definite than the second person. From this

perspective, indefiniteness is associated with deference, which is a controversial assumption.

We, however, argue that a universal tendency towards the pluralization or indefiniteness cannot apply to the emergence of the pronoun of respect *vos* in Latin, the ancestor of Romance languages. Latin, at the beginning had only one pronoun of address *tu*. Yet, according to many linguists, the use of the second person plural *vos* as a deferential pronoun for a single addressee is inherited from Latin, where it started to be used to address an emperor. The use of the deferential pronoun then spreads among ecclesiastical leaders and high ranking officials. Most Romance languages replaced the Latin *vos,* which lost its deferential connotation over time, by the third person pronoun, polite formulae, or other forms of second person plural. Yet, French is among a few Romance languages that preserved the Latin pronominal system.

Reviewing the function of the pronouns in Latin and French, we found a similar function of *tu* and *vous* in all centuries of Middle Ages. *Vous* was a pronoun used among upper class society and a pronoun used for superiors. *Tu* was a pronoun of address among people of lower class society as well as a pronoun towards inferiors. The use of the exclusive *vous* among people of higher social class became a linguistic instrument for social distinction.

However, the two pronouns could alternate with each other when addressing a single addressee. The frequent alternation between the two pronouns became the subject of many studies. While some linguists believed in the lack of any rule for the use of pronouns, others argue that the use of pronouns was based on the social and emotional

factors. Consequently, a change in emotions or social status of the interlocutors could trigger the shift from one pronoun to another. Yet, many instances of the alternation between the two pronouns were accounted for metrical or stylistic reasons, scribal error, or the archaic use of the Latin pronoun. All the hypotheses that have been so far offered to explain the alternation throughout Medieval French are similar in the sense that they only address the functional pattern of the two pronouns. Yet, none of the studies discuss the principal force behind the paradigm.

As we have seen in this chapter, the fascinating co-occurrence of informal and formal address pronouns side by side to address the same person has been the core of studies conducted on the pronominal address system in Medieval French. Linguists are basically divided into two groups: those who believe in the absolute lack of any rule governing the system, and those who take into account the social and emotional criteria. Although we do not believe that the pronominal system was deprived from any rule and although we agree that social and emotional factors played a role in the choice of the appropriate pronoun, we believe that certain issues have been overlooked. The most important question that has not been discussed in the majority of the studies and it certainly needs to be evaluated is the frequency of the alternation between the two pronouns. A few studies may give us the numerical data, yet the numbers only represent the data gathered from one single text. It is our view that the precise frequency of the alternation between the address pronouns will lead us to find out to what degree the system was stabilized or to what degree it was in disorder. Such finding will in turn lead

us to the change that was going to happen deep in the pronominal address system and not only at the surface level.

Chapter 5: Development of the French Pronominal System

In the previous chapter, we presented an overview of several studies reviewing the use of the T/V pronominal system in Latin and Medieval French. The results of most studies reveal that the pronouns for a single addressee would function differently in the early periods. In contrast to Modern French, the pronominal address system, in Medieval French, was an instrument to distinguish the social classes of the interlocutors. The main goal, however, was to explain the inconsistency in the use of *tu* and *vous* when the speaker addresses the same individual. The lack of any rule in the usage of the pronouns of address, the emotional state of the speaker, the influence of Latin address system, and the manipulation of the authors or copyists were among explanations offered by most linguists (see chapter 4).

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the pronominal address system in Medieval French using our own data. The texts and sections chosen for this chapter are identical to those examined in the second chapter. Not only have we analyzed the contexts in which the pronouns were used, but we also examined the approximate number of occurrences of the two pronouns, which will help us to compare our findings with the existing studies and to follow the changes that happened in the pronominal system from Medieval French to Modern French.

We should clarify our method of examining the data. First and foremost, the emphasis will be on the use of the singular and plural forms of pronouns addressing a single person. Second, since the grammatical subject could be absent in Latin and Old French, we are also taking into account instances of other types of linguistic means of

marking the grammatical category of second persons. In this respect, we have included not only the instances of subject pronoun but also those of object pronouns, possessive pronouns, possessive adjectives, and second person finite verbs. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that the terms *tu* and *vos/vous* in our discussion will represent all the above forms and not just the subject pronouns although we may occasionally specify the forms (e.g. verb in second singular). We will also exclude from our data a few instances where the ambiguity of the context does not allow us to make a firm assumption about the precise function and use of the pronouns. Moreover, we will underline instances of second person singular and plural forms in the data in order to facilitate comparison between the forms of address for our readers.

5.1. COLLECTIVE PRONOUNS IN LATIN

Examining the plays of Plautus (3rd BC), the novel of Petronius (1st AD), and the letters of Cicero (1st BC) and Pliny (1st AD), we only find second singular forms of pronouns, adjectives or verbs that are used in direct address. For instance, in the plays of Plautus, second person singular imperative verbs and pronouns are used in conversations between slaves and their masters, slaves and people of higher social class, two slaves, two masters, two friends, fathers and sons, etc[29].

[29] The use of *tu* or other linguistic elements representing the second person singular, as the general address in Latin, can also be attested in several Latin examples presented in the third chapter.

(107)/(319) [slave (Tranio) to his master (Theopropides)]

O	*Theopropides,*	*ere,*	*salve,*	*salvom*
O	Theopropides	master-Voc.	be in good health-2Sg. Imp.	safe.Acc.

te	*advenisse*	*gaudeo.*	(Plaut. *Most.* 446)
you-2Sg.Acc.	come-Perf. Inf.	be glad-1Sg.	

'O Theopropides, master, good day, I am glad that you are safe'

(320) [son to father]

Saepe	*ex*	*te*	*audivi,*	*pater …*	(Plaut. *Merc*.374)
often	from	you.2Sg.Abl.	hear-1Sg.Perf.	father	

'I often heard from you, father'

Similarly, no instance of second person plural forms addressing a single person was found in Petronius's novel, in which all characters are pictured as friends. The deferential forms were also absent in the letters of Cicero and Pliny whose correspondents were family, friends or colleagues, high ranking officials and even the emperor. In the following example, for instance, we see the use of both the subject pronoun and verb in second person singular form when Pliny addresses the emperor.

(321) [Pliny to Emperor Trajan]

Tu	*quidem,*	*domine,*	*providentissime*	*vereris…*
you-2Sg.Nom.	indeed	master.Voc.	carefully- Superl.	fear-2Sg.

(Pliny, *Ep*. 10.61.1)

'You, master, you reasonably fear'

In the plays of Plautus, however, we have found a few instances (about 8 examples) of *vos* or the possessive *vester,* addressing a single addressee. We suggest that these forms had a collective notion even though we may never be able to find out about

the real intention of the author in using *vos* or *vester* in those dialogues. In the following example, a female slave, looking for water, addresses a male slave of a neighboring house using both singular and plural forms.

(322) [female slave (Ampelisca) to male slave (Sceparnio)]

Amp.	*Salve*		*adulescens.*		
	be well-2Sg. Imp.		young man		
Scep.	*Et*	*tu*	*multum*	*salveto,*	*adulescentula.*
	Conj.	you-2Sg.Nom.	much	be well-2Sg. Fut.Imp.	young lady

'And you be very well, young lady'

Amp.	*Ad*	*vos*	*venio.*	(Plaut. *Rud*. 415-417)
	to	you-2Pl.Acc.	come-1Sg.	

'I come to you [you and others who live in the house you live in]'

[…]

Amp.	*Haec*	*sacerdos*	*Veneris*	*hinc*	*me*	*petere*	*aquam*
	she	priestess	Venus-Gen.	from this place	me	seek-Inf.	water-Acc.

iussit	*a*	*vobis*	(Plaut. *Rud*. 430)
order-3Sg.Perf.	Prep.	you-2Pl.Abl.	

'The priestess of Venus ordered me to ask you [i.e. you and people that live in this house] for water'

In the above example, the fact that the conversation is taking place between two slaves suggests that *vos* is used as a collective pronoun. We previously argued that, on the basis of the existing studies, *vos* as a polite pronoun first appeared, around the 4th century AD, in the language of emperors or high ranking officials. Therefore, considering the date of Plautus's plays (i.e. the 3rd BC), even if we assume that *vos* had already entered in the

language as a single pronoun of address, it could not possibly be used by slaves. The collective meaning of *vos* or *vester* may, however, be less clear in other passages. In a conversation between two masters, the young speaker uses *vos* while talking to an elderly addressee, for whom he has respect.

(323) *Isticine* *vos* *habitatis?* (Plaut. *Rud*. 109)
Over there+ Interr. particle. you-2Pl.Nom. live-2Pl.

'Do you live there?'

The presence of the slave, as one of the participants of the conversation, indicates that *vos* would refer to the addressee along with the members of his household including the slave. From this perspective, *vos* could even be considered a plural pronoun despite the fact that the question was only directed at one person. In a similar way, we ruled out the use of *vos* as a singular pronoun in a few other structures, such as the followings:

(324) [conversation between two slaves (Trachalio to Ampelisca)]

Non *rem* *divinam* *facitis* *hic* *vos* *neque*
not matter-Acc. divine-Acc. do-2Pl. here you-2Pl.Nom. nor

erus ? (Plaut.*Rud*.348)
master-Nom.

'You do not make any sacrifice here, nor does your master'

(325) [Emperor Trajan to Pliny]

Et *solvisse* *vos* *cum* *provincialibus* *dis*
Conj. release-Inf.Perf. you-2Pl.Acc. with provincials-Abl. gods-Dat.

immortalibus *vota* *pro* *mea* *salute* *et* *incolumitate* *et*
immortal-Dat. vows for my.Abl. health-Abl. and safety-Abl. and

nuncupasse *libenter,* *mi* *Secunde*
pronounce vows publicly -Inf. Perf. willingly my Pliny (the Second)

carissime,	*cognovi*	*ex*	*litteris*	*tuis* .
dear-Superl.	know-1Sg. Perf.	from	letters-Abl.	your- 2Sg. Abl.

(Pliny, *Ep*.10. 36)

'My dearest Pliny the Second, I was informed from your letter that you and the provincials willingly prayed to immortal gods for my health and safety'

By using *vos neque…* or *vos cum…,* in the above examples, the speaker associates the action of the addressee with other individuals. Consequently, in spite of addressing a single person, *vos* represents a group rather than a single individual. As in example (325), the second person singular pronoun (e.g *tuis* [2Sg]) occurs when the speaker does not associate the addressee with others. Supposing that *vos* had become a deferential pronoun by the 1st AD, one would expect that *vos* be used addressing the emperor rather than addressing an inferior by the emperor.

No clear example of a deferential pronoun is therefore attested from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD, which means that our observation supports the study of Châtelain (1880), who argued that the singular use of *vos*, before the 5th century AD, would convey the notion of association rather than politeness. However, as we discussed in the previous chapter, all linguists agree that *vos* became a pronoun of respect for a single addressee during Late Latin, at the onset of the formation of Romance languages. It is also important to note that through the centuries *vos* did not lose its notion of plurality.

5.2. *LA VIE DE SAINT ALEXIS*

Starting from the early periods of French, the only text in which pronouns of address are present is *La vie de Saint Alexis* (11th c.). It has been argued that various versions of *La vie de Saint Alexis* illustrate various usages of pronouns of address. While *tu*[30] is attested as a predominant pronoun in earlier versions of the text because of Latin influence, in later versions, *vous* becomes the more frequent or the predominant pronoun. The versions written in Old French also project the alternation between the pronouns.

The manuscript that is examined for this study traces back to the 12th century. Second person singular forms are attested as the general and predominant forms of address between all characters: parents and their child, husband and wife, daughter in law and mother in law, master and servant, people and God, etc. However, the wife of Saint Alexis, in three instances, replaces second person singular pronouns or verbs with the second person plural object pronoun and possessive adjective to address her husband. Instances of alternations can be found in the following examples when the wife of Saint Alexis addresses her husband after his death.

(326) *e* *tantes* *feiz* *pur* *tei* *an* *luinz* *guardet,*
Conj. many times for you-2Sg. Prep. far watch-1Sg. Perf.

si reuenisses ta spuse conforter,
if come-2Sg.Subju. your-2Sg. spouse comfort-Inf.

[...]

io *atendeie* *de* *te* *bones* *noueles,*
I wait-1Sg.Imperf. from you-2Sg.Obl. good news

[30] The review of the studies indicates that *tu* would stand for all second singular forms such as second singular verb or possessive in the data.

[...]

cum *est* *mudede* *vostra* *bela* *figure !*
how be-3Sg. changed your-2Pl. beautiful form

plus *uus* *amai* *que* *nule* *creature,*
more you-2Pl.Obl. love-1Sg.Perf. than any creature

[...]

Si *io (t)* *soüsse* *la* *ius* *suz* *lu* *degret,*
if I know-1Sg.Subju. there be-2Sg. under the steps

ou *as* *geüd* *de* *lung* *amfermetet...* (*St. Alexis*, 95-98)
where have-2Sg. lied- Part. of long disability

'And many times, I waited for you to come. If you could just come to comfort your spouse […] I waited hoping to have good news from you […] How your beautiful visage is changed. I loved you more than any other creature [...] If I knew that you were there, under the steps, lying down because of disability'

The alternation between the two pronouns does not seem to be influenced by the change in the relationship between the interlocutors or a change in their social status. As for emotional attitude of the speaker, the emotional tone of the wife of Saint Alexis remains the same throughout the text. In other words, there is no change from normal tone to emotional tone, nor is there manifestation of any sudden emotions. Although we may never know whether the instances of *vos* or *vostre* were initiated by the author of the text himself or by the copyists of the 12th century, a few occurrences of second person plural pronouns may signal the implementation of a new pronominal address system that was moving towards the generalization of *vous* because of the dictation of formality in the aristocratic and monarchical society of Old French. As we see in the following sections, the use of *vos* or *vostre* between couples has become obligatory and normal to the extent

that no alternation is detected in that particular relationship throughout all texts of Old French**.** Relying on our data, we contend that the use of the deferential pronoun within a nuclear family in Old French is motivated by the age and gender of the addressee.

5.3. THE TRIUMPH OF *VOUS* AND DECLINE OF *TU* IN OLD FRENCH

Discussing earlier studies (see chapter 4), we found that *vous* in Old French was the pronoun of address used among the upper classes and towards superiors as a respectful and formal pronoun, and *tu* was a pronoun of address among the commoners and towards inferiors. In addition, instability and confusion were reported in the system, where *vous* and *tu* could frequently alternate in addressing the same person (see chapter 4).

To analyze the pronominal system of Old French and to examine the accuracy of the previous hypotheses, we have closely studied the frequency of the pronouns and the contexts in which they are used in the following texts: *La chanson de Roland* (12th c.), *Le Fresne* (12th c.), *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* (12th c.), *Le roman de Renart* (12th/ 13th c.) and *C'est li testament de l'asne* (13th c.). As indicated in the third chapter, these texts represent different types of literature, which help us to examine the use of the pronouns in different relationships. Yet, they may not give us information about all social groups as one may barely find a script or a text representing the vernacular language of that period.

The proportional use of the pronouns of address in each text and the alternation between the two pronouns are presented in the following table. The approximate numbers listed in each category represent all instances of the pronouns in symmetrical and

asymmetrical usage. Any derivation from these patterns at any point in the discourse or conversation is considered an alternation, where the speaker switches the pronouns addressing the same individual. It is necessary to note that the change of a pronoun following a substantial change in the type of relationship between interlocutors may not be an alternation. We also like to indicate that the direction of the alternation in the majority of instances was from *vous* to *tu*. However, the alternation from *tu* to *vous* was also spotted in a few instances, which will be discussed when presenting the data.

Text	***vous***	***tu***	***tu* in alternation**
La Chanson de Roland	289	15	13
Le Chevalier au Lion	358	79	24
Le Fresne	44	3	0
Le Roman de Renart	494	64	49
Le Testament de l'Âne	16	0	0

Table 3. The Frequency of *Tu* and *Vous* in Old French data

5.3.1. *La chanson de Roland*

In *La chanson de Roland*, we find *vous* in 289 instances, while *tu* was only found in 15 instances. In 270 out of the 289 instances, *vous*, that conveys respect and formality, is symmetrically used between kings and his barons, messengers and kings, friends and barons, etc. Preserving formality was essential among the nobility. The following

examples thus show the use of *vous* between friends, equals or high ranking officials, and enemies.

(327) [Roland to Olivier (friends)]

Sire cumpainz, mult bien le disiez ... (*Rol.*, 96. 1146)
lord companion very well that say-2Pl. Subju.

'Lord companion, you know it very well'

(328) [Ganelon to King Marsile (enemies)]

Si li ad dit : "A tort vus
Conj. him have-3Sg. Aux. said-Part. Prep. wrong you-2Pl.Subj.

curuciez ; | Kar ço vus mandet Carles ki
get angry-2Pl. because this you-2Pl.Obl. order-3Sg.Perf. Charles who

France tient ..." (*Rol.*, 39.469-470)
France run-3Sg.

'He told him: "You wrongly get angry because this is the order of Charles who rules in France'

(329) [Emperor to Ganelon, his baron (superior to inferior in rank)]

Ço dist li Reis: "Guenes, venez avant… "
this say-3Sg.Perf. the king Ganelon come-2Sg.Imp. before

(*Rol.*, 21.280)

'The king said: "Ganelon, come before me"'

The predominance of *vous* as a pronoun of address in *La chanson de Roland* has been attested by several linguists (see Wolff 1988, Bakos 1955). The only study, however, that provides data on the frequency of the pronouns is the study of Wolff (1988), who, similarly, shows the high frequency of *vous* as opposed to the low frequency of *tu* and the low frequency of the alternation between the two pronouns in *La chanson de Roland*. In

the passages that he examined, He found 135 instances of *vous* versus 33 instances of *tu* and 5 instances of alternation between the pronouns (Wolff 1988: 63).

To express friendship or contempt, *tu* could also be used between friends, equals, and nobles. For instance, a noble and powerful warrior consoles King Marsile by using imperative verbs in second singular form. However, because of the lack of any response towards the speaker, we do not know whether King Marsile addresses the official by *tu* or *vous*. Consequently**,** it is not clear whether *tu* is used in a symmetrical or asymmetrical pattern or whether there will be any alternation between the two pronouns on the part of the addressee.

(330) [A high ranking official to King Marsile][31]

Bels	*sire*	*reis,*	*jà*	*n'*	*en*	*sies*	*en*	*poör ;*
dear	lord	king	jamais	not	Pron.	be-2Sg.Subju.Imp.	Pron.	fear

Vei	*de*	*l'*	*felun*	*cume*	*il*	*muet*	*culur.*
see- 2Sg.Imp.	of	the	traitor	how	he	change-3Sg.	color

(*Rol.*, 41)

'Dear lord the king, don't be afraid, see how the traitor changes color!'

In other instances, however, *tu* is attested in alternation with *vous*. For instance, King Marsile, who used to address Ganelon by *vous,* changes the pronoun into *tu* (i.e. 2nd person singular verb) to compliment and praise him as a friend.

[31] The existance of this section is questioned by the commentator. We were also unable to find this section in another version of *La chanson de Roland.*

(331) [King Marsile to Ganelon (a baron of Charlemagne)]

Marsilies *tint* *Guenelun* *par* *l'* *espalle,*
Marsile hold-3Sg.Perf. Ganelon by the shoulder

Si *li* *ad* *dit:* *"Mult* *par* *ies* *ber* *e*
Conj. to him have-1Sg.Aux. told-Part. very Prep. be-2Sg. brave and

sages. (*Rol.*, 56.647-648)
wise

'Marsile held Ganelon by the shoulder and told him: "You are very brave and wise"'

The use of *tu* by the king, however, does not initiate the use of *tu* on the part of Ganelon who consistently uses *vous* towards the king, his superior.

Moments of anger also trigger the use of the informal pronoun. Roland and his stepfather Ganelon, who address each other with *vous*, switch from *vous* to *tu* (i.e. second person singular pronouns and verbs) in moments of anger.

(332) [Ganelon to Roland]

Dist *à* *Rollant:* *" Tut* *fols,* *pur* *quei* *t'*
say-3Sg.Perf. to Roland very insane for what you-2Sg.Refl.

esrages ? | *Ço* *set* *hum* *bien* *que* *jo* *sui*
become furious-2Sg. this know-3Sg. man well that I be-1Sg.

tis *parastre ...* (*Rol.*, 23. 307-308)
your-2Sg. stepfather

'He said to Roland: "You are insane, why are you furious? Every one knows that I am your stepfather"'

We cannot confirm or deny the presence of a third party in this particular passage of the text. However, the angry Ganelon switches from *tu* to *vous* in the following passages,

where the conversation occurs in the front of the king. It is not clear whether the presence of a third party was a motivation for the change:

(333) *E dit à l' Cunte: « Jo ne <u>vus</u> aim*
Conj. say-3Sg. to the count I not you-2Pl.Obl. like-1Sg.

nient ; | Sur mei <u>avez</u> turnet fals jugement.
by no means on me have-2Pl.Aux. turned-Part. unjust judgment

Dreiz Emperere, ci m' veez en present,…
fair emperor here me see-2PL. Loc. Adv.

(*Rol.*, 25.327-329)

'He says to the count [Roland]: "I do not like you at all. This unjust decision is made for me because of you. Fair emperor, you see me, here, present"'

Alternation between the two pronouns is also seen on the part of Roland when he is angry at Ganelon (*Rol.,* 64. 763-765) or when he orders his friend Olivier not to talk (*Rol.,* 86.1026; 94. 1120).

(334) [Roland to Olivier]

" *<u>Tais-</u> Olivier," li quens Rolanz respunt*
be silent-2Sg.Imp. Olivier the count Roland respond-3Sg.

(*Rol.*, 86.1026)

'"Be silent, Olivier!" the count Roland responds'

We should emphasize that the usual pronoun of address between the two friends is *vous* and the use of *tu* in instances of alternation is not followed by a symmetrical use of the informal pronoun. The speakers, however, are not forced to replace the deferential pronoun by the informal one in order to convey their emotions because *tu* is not grammatically established as the exclusive pronoun showing emotions.

(335) [Roland to Olivier (two friends)]

Respunt	*Rollanz:*	*"Ne*	*dites*	*tel*	*ultrage… "*
respond-3Sg.	Rolland	not	say-2Pl.Imp.	such	insult

(*Rol.,* 93 .1106)

'Roland responds: "Don't say such an insult!"'

(336) [Olivier to the brother of King Marsile (two enemies in moments of fight)]

De	*voz*	*manaces,*	*culverz,*	*jo*	*nen*	*ai*	*suign*
of	your.2Pl.	threats	wretch	I	Neg+Pron.	have.1Sg.	worry

(*Rol.,* 100.1232)

'Your threats do not make me worried, wretch'

In the latter example, however, *vous* may have a collective notion, pointing to the threats of the enemy's army. Whether the variation of pronouns occurs because of anger or friendship, it is important to emphasize, once again, that the alternation between the pronouns solely occurs among equals, friends, or acquainted individuals.

5.3.2. *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*

Although the predominance of *vous* in *La chanson de Roland* has been mentioned in a few studies (see Wolf 1988, Bakos 1955), linguists are generally concerned with the frequent alternation in other texts of the Old French period (see chapter 4). Yet, analysis of *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* shows that the high frequency of *vous* is not the characteristic of the '*Chanson de Roland*'. We find 358 instances of *vous* versus 79 instances of *tu*. In 297 out of the 358 instances, *vous* occurs in symmetrical usage of the pronoun between friends, equals, couples as well as between superiors and inferiors.

(337) [conversation between two knights, friends (Gauvain to Yvain)]

Or *ne* *devez* *vous* *pas* *songier...* (*Yvain*, 2505)
Conj. not have to-2Pl. you-2Pl. Neg. think-Inf.

'So you should not think about it'

(338) [husband to wife]

Si *li* *dist:* *« Ma* *tres* *chiere* *dame,*
Conj. (to) her say-3Sg.Perf. my very dear lady

Vos *qui* *estes* *mes* *cuers* *et* *m'* *ame,*
you-2Pl.Subj. who be.2Pl. my heart and my soul

Mes *biens,* *ma* *joie,* *et* *ma* *santez,*
my fortune my happiness and my health

Une *chose* *m'* *acreantez...* (*Yvain*, 2551-2554)
one thing (to) me grant-2Pl.

'He said: my very dear lady, you who are my heart and my soul, my fortune, happiness and health, grant me a favor"

(339) [wife to husband]

Sachiez *que* *ja* *n'* *en* *mantirai:*
know-2Pl.Subju.Imp. that never not Pron. lie-1Sg.Fut.

Se *vos* *mantez,* *je* *dirai* *voir.* (*Yvain*, 2570-2571)
if you-2Pl. lie-2Pl. I tell-1Sg. Fut. truth

'Know that I never lie about it. Even if you lie, I will tell the truth'

(340) [king to knight]

Et *qui* *estes* *vos,* *fet* *li* *rois ?*
Conj. who be-2Pl. you-2Pl.Subj. do-3Sg. the king

Ne *vos* *conoistroie* *des* *mois*
not you-2Pl.Obl. recognize-1Sg.Cond. Art. months

Au *parler,* *se* *ne* *vos* *veoie...* (*Yvain*, 2277-2279)
Prep. speech if not you-2Pl.Obl. see-1Sg.Subju.

'Who are you? The king said. After a while, I cannot recognize you from your voice if I do not see you'

As presented in the above examples, the unmarked *vous* is found among the aristocrats and nobles regardless of the type of relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

Le chevalier au lion, on the other hand, includes a low frequency of *tu*. Out of 79 instances, 31 instances were found in a symmetrical usage between a knight and a farmer.

(341) [knight and farmer]

Que *je* *li* *dis:* *" Va,* *car* *me* *di*
Conj. I (to) him say-1Sg. go-2Sg.Imp. Conj. (to) me say-2Sg.Imp.

Se *tu* *es* *boene* *chose* *ou* *non ! "*
if you-2Sg.Subj. be-2Sg. good thing or not

Et *il* *me* *dist:* *" Je* *sui* *uns* *hon.*
Conj. he (to) me say-3Sg.Perf. I be-1Sg. a human being

--- *quiex* *hom* *iés* *tu?* --- *Tex* *con* *tu* *voiz...*
what human be-2Sg. you-2Sg. such as you-2Sg.Subj. see-2Sg.

(*Yvain*, 326-328)

'So that I tell him: "Tell me if you are a good thing or not?" And he told me: "I am a human. ---What kind of human are you?—A kind of human that you see"'

The farmer and the knight have no previous acquaintance, the unfamiliarity between the two and the fact that the farmer does not belong to upper class society may motivate the use of *tu* on the part of the farmer. The use of *tu* by the knight, on the other hand, seems usual, since the farmer is a member of the lower social class. The asymmetrical usage of *tu* and *vous*, however, is seen between a knight and his squire (*Yvain,* 728-744), which is expected since the knight is the master and the squire is well aware of the social gap. In

addition to the use of *tu* between superior and inferior, *tu* was a common pronoun of address for addressees such as God and a ghost.

(342) [female leader to God]

Voirs	*Dex,*	*li*	*torz*	*an*	*seroit*	*tuens*
real	God	the	fault	Prep.	be-3Sg.Cond.	yours-2Sg.

Se	*tu*	*l'*	*en*	*leisses*	*eschaper.*
if	you-2Sg.Subj.	him	Adv.	let-2Sg.	escape-Inf.

Autrui	*que*	*toi*	*n'*	*en*	*doi*	*blasmer...*
others	Conj.	you-2Sg.	Neg.	Pron.	have to-1Sg.	blame.Inf.

(*Yvain*, 1208-1210)

'Real God, it would be your fault if you let him escape and I only blame you'

(343) [female leader to ghost]

Ha !	*fantosme,*	*coarde*	*chose,*
Interj.	ghost	coward	thing

Por	*qu'*	*ies*	*vers*	*moi*	*acoardie…*
for	what	be-2Sg.	towards	me-Obl.	coward

[…]

Por	*coi*	*ne*	*te*	*puis*	*or*	*tenir ?*
for	what	not	you-2Sg.Obl.	can-1Sg.	now	hold-Inf.

(*Yvain*, 1224-1225, 1229)

'Ah! Ghost, coward thing, why are you cowardly in front of me […] why cannot I catch you? '

The above sentences are uttered by a female leader or a queen who is looking for the killer of her husband and is angry for not being able to find him. She refers to the killer, who is temporarily invisible to others, as 'ghost'. The use of *tu* in the above contexts

could, however, be motivated by the emotional state of the speaker, her distress and disappointment towards God for not helping her in her search and towards the invisible killer for murdering her husband.

Alternation is similarly attested in the conversation between a female ruler and her servant. While in one passage the angry mistress addresses her servant by *tu*, in another passage, she considers the servant a confidant or a friend and addresses her by *vous*. Although the use of *tu* may not be unexpected addressing an inferior, the fact that the ruler changes *tu* into *vous* after apologizing to the servant indicates that the ruler is supposed to respect the servant, which, in fact, justify the use of *vous* towards the servant in other passages.

(344) [queen to servant]

Fui !	*fet*	*ele,*	*lesse*	*m'*	*an*	*pes*	
flee-2Sg.Imp.	do-3Sg.	she	leave-2Sg.Imp.	me	Prep.	peace	
Se	*je*	*t'*	*an*	*oi*	*parler*	*ja*	*mes*
if	I	you-2Sg.Obl.	Pron.	hear-1Sg.	talk-Inf.	ever	
Ja	*mar*	*feras,*	*mes*	*que*	*t'*	*an*	*fuies !...*
now	misfortune	do-2Sg.Fut	but	Conj.	you-2Sg.Refl.	Adv.	flee-2Sg.

(*Yvain*, 1647-1649)

'Flee! She says, leave me in peace! If I ever hear you talking about it, you will have bad luck unless you flee'

(345) [queen to servant]

Et	*dit :*	*« Merci*	*crïer*	*vos*	*vuel*	
Conj.	say-3Sg.	mercy	yell-Inf.	you-2Pl.Obl.	want-1Sg.	
Del	*grant*	*oltrage*	*et*	*de*	*l'*	*orguel*
of the	great	insult	and	of	the	pride

Que	*je*	*vos*	*ai*	*dit*	*come*	*fole...*
that	I	you-2Pl.Obl.	have-1Sg.Aux.	said-Part.	like	mad

(*Yvain*, 1797-1799)

'She says: "I apologize to you for the great insult and pride that forced me to talk to you like a mad person"'

The female ruler, however, is not the only person who addresses a servant by *vous*. Knights similarly address female servants by *vous*. The use of deferential pronouns in conversation with inferiors is briefly discussed in a few studies. Coffen (2002:83), in her study, refers to an example in which a female stranger addresses a female servant by *vous*, while her mistress addresses the servant by *tu*. In her statement on the overall use of *tu* and *vous* in Medieval French (see also chapter 4), Coffen (2002) underlines the occasional use of *tu* towards servants:

> Dans les textes du Moyen Âge, les personnes supérieures de la hiérarchie soit sociale soit familiale sont censés recevoir un V[*vous*], à savoir les parents, les aînés, les princes et rois et toute personne noble amie ou non, les bourgeois, mais aussi les personnes d'un niveau social inférieur, ainsi que les gens de l'Église et de toute évidence, les dames, même très jeunes. Seuls les gens du peuple et parfois les domestiques reçoivent un *tu*. (Coffen 2002 :82- 83)

The use of the deferential pronoun conveying respect towards inferiors is also reported in Maley (1974) (see chapter 4) and Brown and Gilman (1960). Brown and Gilman (1960:274) argue that the use of *vous* towards a servant indicates that the master "is exceptionally pleased with the work" of the servant "and elevates him pronominally to match this esteem." Yet, the gender of the addressee as a crucial factor in this matter should be emphasized as we only find the use of *vous* towards female inferiors.

Consequently, the use of *vous* to address a female servant is motivated either by the respectful attitude of the speaker or by the gender of the addressee as our findings demonstrate.

Returning to the alternation between the two pronouns, Coffen (2002) points to the texts written by Chrétien de Troyes as good examples of the alternations where the switch from *vous* to *tu* occurs in strong emotional moments (Coffen 2002 : 79-80 ; See also chapter 4). Similar to most linguists, however, Coffen (2002) does not mention the frequency of the alternation between the two pronouns, and her statement suggests that the alternation between the two pronouns seems frequent to her, which is not confirmed by our numerical data.

5.3.3. '*Lai*' and '*Fabliaux*'

Le Fresne, written in the 12th century, illustrates the predominance of *vous* to the extent that only 3 instances of *tu* are attested as opposed to 44 instances of *vous*. Similar to the previous texts, the story of *Le Fresne* reflects the life of aristocratic society, in which *vous* is a pronoun of address regardless of the type of relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

(346) [husband to wife]

Dame,	*fet*	*il,*	*lessez*	*ester !*	
lady	do-3Sg.	he	leave-2Pl.Imp.	be.Inf.	
Ne	*devez*	*mie*	*issi*	*parler !*	(*Fres.*, 45-46)
not	have to-2Pl.	Neg.	in this way	talk-Inf.	

'He says: "Lady, let it go! You should not talk this way"'

Vous is a pronoun used among husband and wife, friends, equals and strangers, and it is even used in intimate relationships, or towards children, as in the following example:

(347) [doorman to his daughter]

Fille,	*fet-*	*il,*	*levez,*	*levez !*
daughter	do-3Sg.	he	get up-2Pl.Imp.	get up-2Pl.Imp.

Fu	*e*	*chaundelë*	*alumez!*	(*Fres.*, 197-198)
fire	and	candle	light up-2Pl.Imp.	

'He says: "Daughter, get up, get up! Light up the fire and the candle!"'

The simple doorman does not belong to the highest social class, but he is a doorman of a convent, and the use of the deferential pronoun in religious communities was usual. The use of *vous* between father and daughter is probably motivated by the age and gender of the addressee because *tu* is further attested between parents and young children as well as between father and son.

Our observation is supported by the study of Halmøy (2006) who similarly attests the predominance of *vous* in various *Lais* of Marie de France: " [...] l'emploi des pronoms d'adresse dans les *Lais* de Marie de France est remarquablement cohérent et homogène. Le vouvoiement est généralisé entre tous les interlocutuers. C'est la forme «non-marqué», [...]" (Halmøy 2006:195). Examining *Le Fresne*, Halmøy (2006) once again emphasizes this phenomenon: "Le vouvoiement est dans ce lai aussi la form non-marquée" (Halmøy 2006:187).

A few instances of the pronoun *tu*, on the other hand, are seen in addressing God or inferiors (see also Halmøy 2006:187-188):

(348) [servant to God]

Deus,	*fait*	*ele,*	*par*	*tun*	*seint*	*nun* ;
God	do-3Sg.	she	by	your-2Sg.	saint	name

Sire,	*si*	*te*	*vient*	*a*	*pleisir*
Lord	if	you-2Sg.Obl.	come-3Sg.	Prep.	pleasure

Cest	*enfant*	*garde*	*de*	*perir.*	(*Fres.,* 162-164)
this	child	keep-2Sg.Imp.	from	danger	

'She says "God, Lord, by your saint name, if it pleases you, keep this child safe'

(349) [mistress to chamberlain]

Di	*mei,*	*fait*	*ele,*	*par*	*ta*	*fei,*
tell-2Sg.Imp.	me	do-3Sg.	she	by	your-2Sg.	faith

U	*fu*	*cest*	*bon*	*paile*	*trovez ?*	(*Fres.*, 420-421)
where	be-3Sg. Perf.	this	good	cloth	found-Part.	

'She says: "Tell me, sincerely, where was found this good cloth?"'

The switch between the two pronouns is only seen in one instance when a mother addresses her daughter. The mother addresses the daughter by *vous* only when she is not able to recognize her. Soon after recognizing her daughter, however, the mother changes her address to *tu*. We, however, do not list this instance of the change of the pronoun as an alternation since the relationship between the two interlocutors changes radically. In fact, "address forms [...] change when the relationship between speakre and addresseee changes" (Pountain 2009: 288). The young woman that once was a stranger becomes the daughter of the speaker.

(350) [mother to her unrecognized daughter]

Bele	*amie,*	*nel*	*me*	*celez !*	(*Fres.*, 431)
dear	friend	not that	me.Obl.	hide-2Pl.Imp.	

'Dear friend, do not hide it from me'

(351) [mother to daughter]

Tu	*es*	*ma*	*fille,*	*bele*	*amie !*	(*Fres.*, 450)
you-2Sg.Subj.	be-2Sg.	my	daughter	dear	friend	

'You are my daughter, dear friend'

The father of the young woman still continues to address his daughter by *vous* after recognizing her, which may be motivated by both the gender and age of the addressee. Earlier, in anther section, we also discussed that the guard of a convent would use *vous* to address her daughter. Our argument about the gender of the addressee will further be supported by the use of *tu* between father and son in an aristocratic society.

In *Le roman de Renart*, a popular *fabliau* of Old French, once more, the predominance of *vous* is noticeable. Although the '*Roman de Renart*' is a story about animals and their natural instincts, at the same time, it is a satire reflecting a society where animals are distinguished by their power or rank. For instance, the fox lives in a castle and the lion is the king, who has powerful animals as his barons or in his entourage. Consequently, the excessive use of the deferential pronoun is again associated with the upper class society. However, to our view, many passages of the text reflect a less elevated language in comparison to previous texts.

In the examined sections of *Le roman de Renart*, we found 494 instances of *vous* as opposed to 64 instances of *tu*. 406 out of the 494 instances are detected in symmetrical

usage of the pronoun. *vous*, in most instances, is used according to patterns similar to those of the previous texts. Husband and wife (the wolf and his wife) address each other with *vous* (*Renart*, 1.208-209). No shift from *vous* to *tu* is attested between couples, even in moments of fury and insult (*Renart*, 1.456-469). *Vous* is also a pronoun of deference and formality used in the court and among high ranking animals.

(352) [stag (the chancellor) to fox]

Renart, fait il, <u>vos</u> qui <u>devez</u>
Renard do-3Sg. he you-2Sg.Subj. who have to-2Pl.

A Ysengrin faire escondit
to Isangrin do-Inf. excuse

Einsi con li baron l' ont dit,
like this as the barons that have-3Pl.Aux. said-Part.

<u>Aprochiez</u> <u>vos</u> du serement … (*Renart,* 9.858-860)
approach-2Pl.Imp. you-2Pl.Refl. Art. oath

'He says: "Renart, you must apologize to Ysengrin, as the barons told you, and take the oath"'

(353) [lion (the king) to wolf]

<u>Avez</u> <u>vos</u> , fet il, plus que dire ?
have-2Pl. you-2Pl.Subj. do-3Sg. he more than say-Inf.

(*Renart,*9.128)

'He says: "Do you have more to say?"'

The asymmetrical use of *vous* and *tu*, on the other hand, mostly occurs when one speaker alternates between the two pronouns while the other remains consistent in the use of *vous*. Alternations are seen between animals of equal power and rank in moments of anger or dispute (e.g. between the fox and the stag [*Renart*, 5.884-936], the fox and the

rooster [*Renart*, 5.297-313], the fox and the wolf [*Renart*, 3.176-191]). *Le roman de Renart*, however, differs from the previous texts as the alternation between the two pronouns is found within a single passage, as in the following example:

(354) [rooster to hen (Pinte)]

Pinte,	*fait-*	*il,*	*mout*	*par*	*es*	*fole,*
Pinte	do-3Sg.	he	much	Prep.	be-2Sg.	insane

Mout	*as*	*dite*	*fole*	*parole*
much	have-2Sg.Aux.	said-Part.	insane	speech

Cuidiez	*que*	*je*	*soie*	*sorpris…*	(*Renart*, 5.235-237)
think-2Pl.	that	I	be-2Sg.Subju.	surprised	

'He says: "Pinte, you are very much insane and you have spoken insanely. Do you think that I can be surprised"'

Vous is continuously used in moments of anger or disappointments as well. For instance, the bear, Brun, who is one of the judges of the court, addresses the fox, Renart, by *vous* when he is trapped by the fox.

(355)

Se	*de*	*ceste*	*puis*	*eschaper,*
if	of	this	can-1Sg.	escape-Inf.

Je	*vos*	*cuit*	*tant*	*batre*	*et*	*fraper.*
I	you-2Pl.Obl.	think-1Sg.	much	beat-Inf.	and	strike-Inf.

(*Renart*, 9.975-976)

'If I can escape from here, I will beat you many times'

If the shift from *vous* to *tu* was systematic, one would expect to see this change in the language of the bear that was superior in rank. This instance, in fact, reinforces our position about the occurrences of *tu* between equals in rank or between friends.

Despite the fact that, in most instances, the alternation is from *vous* to *tu*, the shift from *tu* to *vous* is also detected when the speaker wants to praise the addressee, show his deference, his equality and nobility, or the potential superiority of the addressee. For instance the wolf (Ysengrin), in one passage, is pictured as the uncle of Renart (the fox) and addresses Renart by *tu*. Yet, he switches from *tu* to *vous* in other passages when he is rather an equal or less powerful. The lexical terms that are exchanged between the two animals also point to a development of a friendly relationship between them depending on circumstances. In moments of the use of reciprocal *vous*, Renart addresses the wolf by the terms *frere* 'brother' or *compere* 'companion' (*Renart*, 3.115; 4. 22), and the wolf uses deferential terms such as *mestre* 'master', or *sire* 'lord' to address Renart (*Renart*, 3.53; 3.122; 3.130). In such instances, Renart has the control of the situation and the wolf wants to praise and flatters him in order to meet his needs or requests. Therefore, the use of *vous* indicates the submission of the speaker. The following examples show instances of alternations between the two animals.

(356) [wolf (Ysengrin) to fox (Renart)]

Voire,	*biau*	*niez,*	*menjas*	*tu*	*hui* ?
in fact	dear	nephew	eat-2Sg.Perf.	you-2Sg.Subj.	today

(*Renart*, 1.206)

'Dear nephew, in fact, did you eat today?'

(357) [wolf (Ysengrin) to fox (Renart)]

Car	*m'*	*en*	*donnez*	*.I.*	*sol*	*tronçon !*
Conj.	(to) me	of that	give-2Pl.Imp.	1	only	piece

Nel	*di*	*se*	*por*	*essaier*	*non*
not that	say-1Sg.	if	for	try-Inf.	not

(*Renart*, 3.103-104)

‘Give me only one piece! I would not say that if it was not only for tasting it’

In another passage, the shift from *tu* to *vous* happens in a single passage when the camel, as a representative of the pope, gives advice to the lion king. The use of usual *tu* towards the king could indicate the friendship or equality of the interlocutors or the superiority of the camel in wisdom**.** Yet, the change from *tu* into *vous* may not be surprising since *vous* was the conventional pronoun of address among the nobility.

(358) [the camel to the king]

Et	*se*	*<u>vos</u>*	*<u>siez</u>*	*bone*	*rege,*
Conj.	if	you-2Pl.Subj.	be-.2Pl.Subju.	good	king

Se	*est*	*qui*	*destruie*	*la*	*lege*
if	be-3Sg.Pres.	somebody	destroy-3Sg.Subju.	the	law

Et	*qui*	*la*	*<u>vos</u>*	*esteut*	*parar,*
and	Conj.	that	you-2Pl.Obl.	be necessary-3Sg.Subju.	adorn-Inf.

Il	*les*	*doie*	*fort*	*comparar.*
it.Impers.	them	have to-3Sg.	strong	pay-Inf.

[…]

Se	*lo*	*judgement*	*sioit*	*fainte,*
if	the	judgment	be-3Sg.Subju.	hypocritical

Et	*<u>tu</u>*	*non*	*<u>soies</u>*	*bon*	*seignor,*
Conj.	you-2Sg.Subj.	not	be-2Sg.Subju.	good	lord

<u>Fai</u>	*droit*	*jujar*	*por*	*<u>ton</u>*	*henor…*
do-2Sg.Imp.	law	juge-Inf.	for	your-2Sg.	honor

(*Renart*, 9.209-212; 9. 215-216)

> 'If you are a good king, when somebody does not respect the law, and you have to defend the law, you should then make that person pay. […] If the judgment is not right, then, you are not a good lord. For your honor, judge according the law…'

A few other functions of the pronouns merit mention as well. In addition to the occurrence of *tu* in instances of alternation between the two pronouns, *tu* is also used reciprocally between farmers (*Renart*, 2. 58-61). As was expected, we also find its usage in prayers (*Le roman de Renart*, 5.140-142). Parents, on the other hand, are usually addressed by *vous* (*Renard*, 1. 423-427). *Vous* is the conventional pronoun towards parents because of their power and authority in the family: "The *V* [*vous*] of reverence entered European speech as a form of address to the principal power in the state and eventually generalized to the powers within that microcosm of the state--the nuclear family. In the history of language, then , parents are emperor figures […]. The individual's first experience of subordination to power and of the reverential *V* comes in his relation to his parents" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 256).

In another *fabliau* of the 13th century, namely *Li testament de l'asne*, *vous* is found as the only pronoun of address among religious characters. The difference in rank between the bishop and the priest does not prevent the use of the symmetrical *vous*:

(359) [bishop to priest]

Faus	*desleaux,*	*Deu*	*anemis,*		
false	disloyal	God	enemy		
Ou	*aviez*		*vos*	*vostre*	*asne*
where	have-2Pl.Aux.Imperf.		you-2Pl.Subj.	your-2Pl.	donkey
mis ?			(*T.d.A.*, 95-96)		
put-Part.					

'Infidel! Enemy of God! Where did you bury your donkey?'

It may be hard to figure out the precise social class that the author had in mind for his characters; yet, they were certainly not related to the highest classes of society or nobility. The priest, who has a farm and a donkey, is rich but greedy and the bishop is extravagant and in need of money. However, as we saw in the previous section, according to Coffen (2002:83), in Medieval French, the pronoun *vous* is used to address *les gens de l'Église* 'people of the church'. Although it is not clearly stated whether *vous* was supposed to be used by commoners or the people of the church themselves, religious figures had seemingly respectful positions in society.

A brief look at a theological text, namely *Le miracle de Théophile*, written in the 13th century by Rutebeuf indicates that *tu* is primarily used when the speaker develops an informal and friendly relationship with both human and abstract characters (e.g. religious notions). However, symmetrical *vous* is found between the bishop or his servant and the priest. In addition, in a few instances, the speaker initiates the use of *tu* towards his friends, but they, who oppose the speaker's actions, respond with *vous*. The asymmetrical use of the pronouns implies that the addressees prefer to show their distance rather than their friendship. The use of *vous* in response is then followed by the use of *vous* on the part of the speaker in the rest of the conversations.

The data from the Old French period roughly show the use of *vous* in upper class society and religious community. *Vous* is a linguistic ingredient to distinguish the privileged social background of the speaker whose formal attitude is the proof. Yet, the

use of *tu* is inevitable and it sporadically occurs in texts among members of the lower social classes and towards inferiors. *Tu* may additionally alternate with *vous* between friends and equals in rank in moments of anger or friendship even though it is not established as a pronoun indicating the emotional state of the speaker as *vous* occurs in similar contexts. More importantly, in our data, gender becomes a triggering factor in the use of *vous* towards an inferior in both noble society and family. In addition, the absence of social constraints between interlocutors (e.g. religious concepts) in majority of situations leads the speaker to choose *tu* over *vous*.

The overall use of the pronouns in Old French, on the basis of our data, can be summarized as in the following schema, where the direction of the use of pronouns is presented by two signs: '↔' means the reciprocal use of pronouns and '→' shows their asymmetrical usage. We divide the communities into three groups: upper class, lower class and religious community. By superior-inferior relationship in upper class society, we refer to any inequality in power (e.g. king vs. knights, knights vs. servants, parents vs. children, etc). The symbol 'T' stands for *tu* and the symbol 'V' stands for *vous*. The alternation between the pronouns is then presented by 'V/T':

Old French Period

Social Classe	**Pron.**	**Social Classe**	**Pron.**
1) In upper society:		**3)** In religious community:	
superior↔inferior	V	superior↔inferior	V
superior →inferior	T		
inferior→ superior	V		
equals, friends↔equals, firends	V, V/T		
2) In lower society**:**		**4)** lower class↔upper class	T
commoner↔commoner	T		

Although the functional patterns of the pronouns in our data do not differ from the majority of studies that we have discussed in the previous chapter, there are clear differences for individual studies. For instance, our examination of the '*Roman de Renart*' does not support the study of Ola Brievega (1975), who after examining 34 fables of Marie de France, mostly find the symmetrical use of *tu* between less powerful animals, the symmetrical use of *vous* among powerful animals, and the asymmetrical use of *tu* and *vous* among animals of unequal power. Despite the fact that we have found the occasional use of *tu*, mostly in alternation with vous, the predominant pronoun between animals of equal or unequal power or rank is *vous*.

What should be our perspective as we move forward? In the second chapter, we argued that many linguists believe that politeness emerged at the request of a distinctive language for people of the court or people of upper class society in the 16th and the 17th centuries in Europe. Politeness has been then associated with civilized and good behavior: "[…] Europeans became very conscious of the extensive use of *V* [vous] as a

mark of elegance. In the drama of seventeenth century France the nobility and bourgeoisie almost always address one another as *V*" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 257). Even though we argue that *vous* had already become a pronoun distinguishing certain social classes in Old French, the fact that *vous* continued to be symptomatic representative of polite behavior and polite language in Classical French suggests its predominance in privileged social classes of Middle French, which does not exclude its spread to lower classes.

5.4. THE STABILIZATION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

The increase of *vous* and the decrease of *tu* in Middle French texts have been discussed in the existing literature (see chapter 4). Yet, all of the studies underline the continuation of the alternation between the pronouns of address in Middle French. In this section, we therefore analyze our own evidence gathered from two texts: the Chronicle *Vie de Saint Louis* (14th c.) and *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* (15th c.). Our intention is to examine the existing arguments in relation to our own findings and to trace the evolution of the pronominal system.

In the previous section, it was our goal to show the high frequency of *vous* and the low frequency of *tu* or the alternation between the pronouns. Therefore, we counted instances of *vous* and *tu* in a number of Old French texts in order to examine their proportionality. In Middle French data, *vous* is so widespread the counting all instances may not shed a lot of light on the subject. Instead, we have decided to review the general use of *vous* and to point out the rare instances of *tu*.

In the '*Vie de Saint Louis*', *vous* is exclusively used as a pronoun of address in upper class society. Reciprocal *vous* is a common pattern found between the king and his officials, regardless of their rank, superiority, type of relationship, or position.

(360) [king to Joinville (the seneschal)]

Senechal,	*<u>vous</u>*	*<u>savés</u>*	*que*	*je*	*<u>vous</u>*	*ai*	
Senechal	you-2Pl.Subj.	know-2Pl.	that	I	you-2Pl.Obl.	have-1Sg.Aux.	
moult	*amé,*	*et*	*ma*	*gent*	*me*	*dient*	
much	liked-Part.	and	my	people	(to) me	say-3Pl. Pres.	
que	*il*	*<u>vous</u>*	*treuvent*	*dur;*	*comment*	*est*	*ce ?*
that	they	you-2Pl.Obl.	find-3Pl.	hard	how	be-3Sg.	this

(*St. Louis*, 440)

'Seneschal, you know that I like you very much, but my people find you strict. What is your explanation?'

(361) [king to bishop]

Et	*de*	*ce,*	*fist*	*le*	*roy,*	*<u>vous</u>*	*en*	*doins*	
Conj.	of	this	do-3Sg.Perf.	the	king	you-2Pl.Obl.	Pron.	give-1Sg.	
je	*un*	*exemple*	*du*	*conte*	*de*	*Bretaigne…*	(*St. Louis,* 64)		
I	an	example	of the	count	of	Brittany			

'The king said, for this, I give you an example of the count of Brittany'

(362) [bourgeois to (poor) knight]

Sire	*chevalier,*	*<u>vous</u>*	*ne*	*faites*	*pas*	*que*	*courtois*		
lord	knight	you-2Pl.Subj.	not	do-2Pl.Pres.	Neg.	Conj.	courteous		
de	*demander*	*a*	*mon*	*seigneur,*	*car*	*il*	*a*	*tan*	
Prep.	ask-Inf.	to	my	lord	because	he	have-3Sg.Aux.	much	

donné	*que*	*il*	*n'*	*a*	*mez*	*que*	*donner*.
given-Part.	that	he	Neg.	have-3Sg.	more (Neg.)	Conj.	give-Inf.

(*St. Louis*, 91)

'Lord knight, it is not polite to ask my lord [for money] because he has donated so much [money] that he has no more to give'

The following examples illustrate the use of *vous* even in moments of anger and insult:

(363) [knight to marshal (his nephew)]

Orde	*longaingne,*	*que*	*voulez*	*vous*	*dire ?*
dirty	latrine	what	want-2Pl.	you-2Pl.Subj.	say-Inf.

Raseez	*vous*	*tout*	*quoy!*
sit down again-2Pl.Imp.	you-2Pl.	completely	calm

(*St. Louis*, 428)

'Dirty latrine, what do you want to say? Sit down again and be quiet!'

Vous is even used among enemies. For instance, we observe several instances where *vous* is reciprocally used between the Saracens and King Louis or his officials, who were prisoners.

(364) [saracen to Joinville]

Sire,	*vous*	*estes*	*perdu*	*se*	*vous*	*ne*
lord	you.2Pl.Subj.	be.2Pl.	lost	if	you.2Pl.Subj.	not

metés	*conseil*	*en*	*vous*…	(*St. Louis*, 321)
decide. 2Pl.		Prep.	you.2Pl.	

'Lord, you are lost if you do not decide for yourself'

(365) [king to saracen]

Alez	*vous*	*en,*	*que*	*a*	*vous*	*ne*
go-2Pl.Imp.	you-2Pl.Refl.	Adv.	Conj.	to	you-2Pl.	not

parlerai	*je*	*plus*!	(*St. Louis*, 395)
talk-1Sg.Fut.	I	more	

'Go away ! because I will not talk to you anymore'

It should be mentioned that in most instances, the author does not mention the rank of the Saracens who engage in conversation with the king and his men. The use of *vous* or deferential terms in those instances may be a sign of formality and distance among high ranking officials**.** However, we occasionally find the use of *tu* by enemies addressing other prisoners (*St. Louis*, 334). It is not therefore clear whether this pattern of usage is motivated by the rank of the prisoners, by the rank of their enemies, or by the interpretation that the author has from the language of the enemies.

Other instances of *tu* are used towards children (*St. Louis*, 21; 251) and animals (*St. Louis*, 77), or religious contexts (see *St. Louis,* 3; 44). Throughout the entire sections that we examined, the only alternation between the two pronouns addressing the same addressee is seen in prayers addressing God. The unmarked pronoun vis-à-vis theological concepts is *tu* (*St. Louis*, 40;70;278;416), although in few passages, *vous* is used to address God (*St. Louis*, 207).

In the next century, the use of *vous* increases more and more to the extent that the data from *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* (15th c.), reveal the spread of *vous* in middle class society. By the 15th century, *vous* definitely entered in the language of the middle classes as an unmarked pronoun used between couples, friends or acquainted people, and

superiors and inferiors. The following examples show the exclusive use of *vous* among all characters of the middle class society in the play of *Maistr*e *Pierre Pathelin.*

(366) [husband to wife]

Vous	*ne*	*sçavez.*	(*Pathelin*, 1. 72)
you-2Pl.Subj.	not	know-2Pl.	

'You don't know'

(367) [wife to husband]

Il	*est*	*grant*	*besoing*	*qu'*	*on*	*le*	*dye !*
it	be-3Sg.	great	need	that	we	him	say-3Sg.Subju.

Qu'	*en*	*voulez*	*vous*	*faire?*	(*Pathelin*, 3.354)
what	Pron.	want-2Pl.	you.2Pl.Subj.	do.Inf.	

'We really need to tell him. What do you want to do about it?

(368) [Pathelin to clothier (2 friends)]

Or,	*sire,*	*les*	*voulez*	*vous*	*croire ?*
now	lord	them	want-2Pl.	you-2Pl.Subj.	believe

(*Pathelin*, 2.280)

'Now, lord, do you want to believe them?'

(369) [clothier to the wife of Pathelin]

Vous	*disïez*	*que*	*je*	*parlasse*		*si*
you-2Pl.Subj.	say.2Pl.Imperf.	that	I	talk-1Sg.Imperf.Subju.		so

bas…	(*Pathelin*, 5.572-573)
low	

'You told me that I should talk in a low voice'

(370) [judge to clothier]

Avant ! *achevez* *de* *plaider* (*Pathelin*, 8. 1261)
beforehand finish-2Pl.Imp. Prep. plead.Inf.

'First, finish pleading!'

Vous as a pronoun of address among the middle classes was a sign of respect, distance and formality as it was among the upper classes. What needs to be highlighted is the absence of any alternation between the two pronouns even in emotional moments as it is illustrated in the following example.

(371) [clothier to Pathelin (in court)]

M' *aist* *Dieu!* *Vous* *estes* *le* *grigneur*
me help-3Sg.Subju God you-2Pl.Subj. be-2Pl. the giant

trompeur!... (*Pathelin*, 8.1485-1486)
deceitful

'May God help me! Your are a deceitful giant'

It should, however, be mentioned that in one instance the angry clothier, in the absence of the judge and with a low voice, addresses Pathelin with *tu*. Since his remark is not perceivable by the addressee(s), the clothier feels comfortable violating the linguistic norms using the informal pronoun.

(372) *Ha!* *qu'* *es* *tu* *fort* *lierre !*
Interj. Conj. be-2Sg. you-2Sg.Subj. strong thief

(*Pathelin*, 8.1502)

'Ah! What a thief you are!'

In the entire play, the shepherd is the only person who is addressed by *tu* by all speakers. The shepherd does not belong to the middle class society; therefore, the use of *tu* to address the shepherd by Pathelin, the clothier and the judge is justified because of

their social class differences. The shepherd is, of course, obligated to address others by *vous*.

(373) [judge to shepherd]

Va	*t'*	*en*	*a*	tes	*bestes*
go-2Sg.Imp.	you-2Sg.Refl.	Adv.	to	your-2Sg.	animals

(*Pathelin*, 8.1474)

'Go, there, to your animals!'

(374) [Pathelin to shepherd]

Je	*te*	*pry,*	*sans*	*plus*	*m'*	*abaier,*
I	you-2Sg.Obl.	ask-1Sg.Pres.	without	more	(to) me	bleat-Inf.

que	*tu*	*penses*	*de*	*moy*	*payer.*
that	you-2Sg.Subj.	think-2Sg.	of	me	pay-Inf.

(*Pathelin*, 10.1560-1561)

'I ask you to stop bleating and to think about paying me'

We would also like to point out to a few instances of *tu* that are found in the speech of Pathelin when he pretends to be sick and delusional. He addresses his wife and the clothier with *tu*, as he sees them as evil persons. However, the use of *tu* in those passages is not discussed or even included in our data because of our inability to identify the imaginary individuals to whom he addresses his message, and because of the use of various dialects and languages in his speech that makes it incomprehensible and ambiguous.

Analysis of *Vie de Saint Louis* and *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* indicate that by the Middle French period, the French pronominal system became more stable regarding the use of address pronouns. *Vous* was no longer exclusively associated with the language of

upper class society. It started to be used as the pronoun of address representing middle classes as well. *Tu*, on the other hand, was a pronoun basically used to address individuals of the lower social class. *Tu* could also be used in parent-child relationship, in prayers or religious contexts and in conversation with animals. The lack of alternation between the pronouns is a crucial finding that places our study in opposition to previous studies (see chapter 4). Aside from the use of the pronoun among family members or in prayers, the following schema summarizes the basic use of the pronouns in Middle French:

	upper class/ middle class	**Pron.**
	equals, friends ↔ equals, friends	V
	superior↔inferior	V

Middle French >

V↑↓ T

lower class

Although we focus on Medieval French, in the next section, we review and evaluate existing studies on the pronominal address system from the 16th century on in order to be able to follow the evolution of this system in further centuries. It is our belief that examining the continuous changes that occur in the paradigm of pronouns of address will help us to have a better explanation for the alternation between the two pronouns in Medieval French.

5.5. TOWARDS THE MODERN FRENCH ADDRESS SYSTEM

While the forms of the French address pronouns *tu* and *vous*, apart from some phonological changes, remain the same throughout all centuries, their usage changes dramatically in Modern French. In the 16th century, the overall functions of the two pronouns remain the same. *Tu* is generally used to address inferiors or to indicate intimate and close relationships. *Vous*, on the other hand, is used to address equals or persons of higher status (e.g. prince, a great lord, etc), indicating respect. *Vous* was the preferred pronoun in prose except for children and God, and the alternation between the two pronouns diminishes (Coffen 2002: 101-105, Maley 1974:23-24). Maley (1974) also refers to the writer Pasquier of the 17th century, who for the first time signals the use of *vous* towards inferiors although the usual pronoun for inferiors was *tu*: "Occasionally, depending on the personality of the speaker and in the absence of constraint and affectation, a superior will use the *vouvoiement* [sayin *vous*] with an inferior. This is the first time a writer has commented on the possibility of using *vous* with an inferior in the same way one would use it addressing one's equal, i.e., to express respect" (Maley 1974:23).

In the 17th century, asymmetrical address indicates the inequality between interlocutors in terms of social, political, and economical power. For instance, *tu* was used by masters, mistresses and superiors towards servants, while *vous* was used by servants towards their masters, mistresses or other superiors. On the other hand, the symmetrical usage of *tu* and *vous* indicates the social equality between interlocutors. As

in previous centuries, *tu* remains the pronoun among commoners and *vous* is employed among upper class society (Maley 1974: 24-28).

The deferential *vous* could still be a sign of elegance or correct behavior (Morford 1997: 9), which was a defining factor in the extensive use of *vous* in the literature: "Au XVIIe siècle le tutoiement perd du terrain dans la littérature et *vous* triomphe définitivement come pronom de politesse, grâce à l'influence de la cour " (Nyrop 1925 : 233). Maley (1974:24-28), upon examining letters of Racine and most plays of Molière, observes the use of *vous* among family members of upper class society. Similarly, Brown and Gilman (1960:257) generally attest the use of reciprocal *vous* in the drama of the 17th century among nobles and bourgeois. In addition, in literature, women are considered superior. Heroes address heroines by the pronoun *vous*, while heroines address heroes by the pronoun *tu* (Nyrop 1925:233). The alternation between *tu* and *vous*, addressing the same person, is not, however, over. The alternation between the two pronouns is still present in the literature when speakers tend to show their feelings and emotions (Nyrop 1925:233, Maley 1974:28, see also Brown and Gilman 1960: 273-274). Nyrop (1925) believes in the archaic use of *tu,* which he calls the 'noble *tu*', in invocations such as addressing the king in poetry: *Grand Roi, cesse de vaincre ou je cesse d'écrire* (Boileau in Nyrop 1925: 239). As discussed earlier, Bakos (1955) would also consistently refer to the usage of an archaic Latin *tu* in Old French, where it gained a deferential connotation (see chapter 4). We would like to address this issue once more. First, while Bakos (1955) clearly relates the deferential *tu* to the archaic Latin *tu*, it is not clear whether Nyrop (1925), by the term 'archaic tu' wants to refer to the use of *tu* in Old French or in Latin.

Second, because of the lack or absence of any example or clear explanation about the 'archaic tu', its function remains ambiguous for us. In Latin, where *tu* was the only pronoun of address for centuries, how a particular usage of tu, whether in a polite context or not, could be distinguished from others?

One of the major events in Classical French, however, is the appearance of French grammar, teaching the refined language. Maley (1972:1000, 1001; 1974: 25) argues that the use of the pronouns of address became the focus of grammarian in the 17th century, who tended to "discipline and purify" the language by the help of people of the court. For instance, according to the French Academy, in1694 , one should use *tu* towards inferiors, people with whom s/he has great familiarity, for *Barbares* (i.e. Turks, Arabs, and Indians) and when one writes in a low register style (Maley 1974:26-27). Yet, for some grammarians, *vous* was not formal or deferential enough:

> The rules, according to Andry [M. Andry 1692], for respectful address involve three levels. The most polite level of address is to use the indirect third person form, with the addition of the title of the person addressed, e.g., *Plaist-il à Monseigneur*. The least polite usage is to speak directly to a superior using *vous* and a title, e.g. *voulez-vous Monseigneur*. The completely unacceptable form would be to speak directly to a superior without the addition of his (or her) title, e.g., *Comment vous portez-vous*? (Maley 1974:26)

As mentioned previously, the use of the third person singular pronoun was never conventionalized in France as in other Romance languages.

Although minor changes in the pronominal system were seen in the Classical period, according to Maley (1972:1001, 1974:71), the French language, in respect to the use of address pronouns, remains the same from the late Middle Ages to the early

eighteenth century: *tu* was a pronoun used showing inferiority of the addressee, intimacy among upper class, or equality among lower class society. On the other hand, *vous* was a pronoun indicating superiority of the addressee, or equality among upper class society. The change from reciprocal to non reciprocal usage of address pronouns especially among upper and middle class society could occur in emotional moments: "[...] when they wished to express emotions such as anger, affection, sorrow, etc., they might switch from an established reciprocal (either *vous—vous* or *tu—tu*) to a non-reciprocal usage" (1974:71). However, the change from symmetrical to asymmetrical usage could also take place "in the absence of emotion": "Yet on many occasions the switching from reciprocal to non-reciprocal address took place also in the absence of emotion. The reasons for this phenomenon have still to be discovered—though it is always possible that the two usages may have occurred, for a time at least, in free variation" (Maley 1972: 1002, 1974:71).

Similarly, no substantial changes in the language occur in the 18th century (Maley 1974: 30). Even though one of the aims of the French Revolution in the 18th century was to establish *tu* as the only address term to show brotherhood and equality among French citizens, the deferential *vous* continued to be used. Yet, the 19th century marks the essential evolution in the use of the pronominal address system. The hierarchical structure of the society based on the monarchy and religious powers changes dramatically from now on. The relationship between interlocutors is determined by their distance or familiarity. *Tu* became a pronoun of solidarity and familiarity while *vous* indicates the distance between the speaker and the addressee (Coffen 2002: 221, Maley 1974:72):

> In the late nineteenth century certain changes took place (for example, servant and master came to use reciprocal *vous*, and members of the same family always addressed one another with *tu*) that indicated a shift from usage based on social class status to one based on the degree of intimacy of the speakers involved: *vous* expressed distance, *tu* marked familiarity. (Maley 1974:72)

According to Nyrop (1925), the early alternation between *tu* and *vous* still appears in drama. The alternation between *tu* and *vous*, addressing the same individual, can once more be because of the emotional change in the behavior of the speaker (e.g. […] *Je vous hais, je vous hais, --oui je te hais dans l'âme* [*Hernani* II, sc.3 in Nyrop 1925: 235]) or for metrical reasons.

In the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th centuries the asymmetrical use of forms of address (i.e. including pronouns of address), based on inequality of power, was still seen between "parents (or other adults) and children, masters and servants, employers and employees, supervisors and subordinates, elites and commoners, European settlers and members of colonized populations" (Morford 1997: 9). The use of *tu* as an indication of intimacy and familiarity still increases, especially among the upper classes and bourgeois. Parents, who used to address their children by *vous* and their servants by *tu*, by the end of the 19th century, address their children by *tu*, as a sign of affection, and their servants by *vous*, to indicate distance (Morford 1997: 9). The general tendency to use symmetrical *tu* among family members seems to be one of the salient changes in the usage of address pronouns in French (i.e. the use of symmetrical *tu* between older and younger siblings, parents and children, in-laws of the same generation, spouses, etc). Yet, *vous* could still be used between parents and children in bourgeois and aristocratic families or families pretending to be aristocrat, among spouses of upper class

society in public, and among spouses of lower class society as a sing of snobbism (Maley 1972:1004, Maley 1974:36-37, Morford 1997:9-10, Nyrop 1925:236-237, Coffen 2002:233-234). Another example of the change in the use of address pronouns of that period is observed in the army. While the reciprocal *tu* is used among soldiers, soldiers and their superiors use the reciprocal *vous.* Yet, the use of a familiar *tu* between superiors and soldiers could be seen (Nyrop 1925:238).

After witnessing more or less similar patterns of the use of the pronouns of address in earlier periods of French, we may see a more drastic change in the pronominal address system in the contemporary language. According to Morford (1997:10), in today's society, there is a tendency "towards a generalized use of *tu*." Maley (1974:72), interviewing the young generation of Canada, also concludes that "the younger generation has come to regard as familiar or intimate many personal relations that their elders would have considered distant or formal, and they accordingly are more liberal in their use of *tutoiement*." According to Maley (1974), the tendency towards the generalization of *tu* is also found in religious and political communities. For instance, "the Roman Catholic Chruch" in France, in 1967, decided that God had to be addressed by *tu*, and not by *vous,* in all prayers and religious ceremonies[32] (1974:72). Similarly, it is argued that "The Communist Party of France, whose membership is largely made up of industrial workers and intellectuals, insists on regular reciprocal *tutoiement*, clearly as a

[32] The reason for such decision is not discussed in the article.

reaction against the old habits of making class barriers through pronominal forms of address" (Maley 1974:72).

The motive towards a generalization of *tu* may be well explained by the theory of Brown and Gilman (1960), which was adopted or referred to by many studies. The influential study of Brown and Gilman (1960) explains the use of polite/formal (*vous*) and familiar/informal (*tu*) pronouns in several European languages, including French, on the basis of two dimensions: power and solidarity. In their study, the asymmetrical use of *tu* and *vous* indicates the power difference, while the symmetrical use of *tu* (i.e. pronoun indicating intimacy and familiarity) indicates the solidarity among equals. The reciprocal *vous*, on the other hand, is used as a non-solidarity pronoun among equals. The authors conclude that the overall tendency in contemporary languages is the use of reciprocal pronouns, with the increase in the reciprocal use of the pronouns of solidarity (e.g. *tu*) (Brown and Gilman 1960:257-261, 264). This significant change towards the use of pronouns of solidarity, without a doubt, is the result of the emergence of a new structure in society: "We believe, therefore, that the development of open societies with and equalitarian ideology acted against the nonreciprocal power semantic and in favor of solidarity" (1960: 267).

However, Coveney (2010) believes that the tendency towards the use of *tu* is linguistically motivated and social variables may not be the only factors in the increasing use of *tu*: "[...] the general loss of inflections in French suggests that *vouvoiement* [saying *vous*]is much more likely to disappear than is *tutoiement* [saying *tu*]" (2010:143). The only verbal inflections, in the indicative, in the spoken French are the first and the second

person plural. However, the first person plural with the verbal inflection *–ons* is frequently replaced by the indefinite pronoun *on* with the third person singular inflection (i.e. no inflection) in the spoken French. Consequently, the second person plural (e.g. *vous*) remains as the only person that has verbal inflection in spoken language (Coveney 2010:141). Coveney (2010), therefore, believes that *vous* should be replaced by *tu* with no verbal inflection. He subsequently adds that the tendency towards the use of *tu* is generally seen in the verbal paradigm, where several forms of the second person singular (e.g. *tiens!, dis (donc)!, attends*!) "have undergone some degree of semantic bleaching" Coveney (2010:141). These forms, as interjections, can be used with either *tu* or *vous:*

(375) *Tiens, vous voilà*
well you-2Pl. there are

(Corréard and Grundy 2001 :839 in Coveney 2010:141)

'Well, here you are'

(376) *Tiens, vous croyez?*
well you-2Pl. think-2Pl.

(Corréard and Grundy 2001:839 in Coveney 2010:141)

'Well, what do you think?'

The theory of the loss of inflection, however, may not explain all instances of the use of the second person singular instead of the second person plural. Many indicative French verbs in second person singular have verbal inflections, considering, for instance, irregular verbs with different inflections in singular and plural forms (e.g. verb *aller* 'to go'). Although the verbal inflection of the second person singular may be more simple

and easier to pronounce than the second person plural (e.g. *tu vas* 'you [2Sg.] go' vs. *vous allez* 'you [2Pl.] go'), it is irrelevant to consider no inflection for those verbs. In addition, the theory is not accurate for all tenses or moods. Do the French always speak in indicative present, where many verbs have no inflection in second person singular? Therefore, instead of the loss of inflection, the tendency towards the unification of verbal inflections, or towards the more simple inflection, should be proposed.

Despite the tendency towards the generalization of *tu*, the symmetrical use of *vous* or the asymmetrical use of *vous* and *tu* are still seen among French speakers. The symmetrical *vous* is used among strangers, people who are not familiar with each other, people who like to show respect for each others, or to keep their distance (e.g. "[...] neighbors, coworkers, salesclerks and customers, parents and their children's teachers or caretakers, doctors and patients, employers and employees…" [Morford 1997: 12]) , and people find themselves in formal settings (Morford 1997:12).On the other hand, the asymmetrical use of *tu* and *vous* can be used among members of certain aristocratic or traditional families (e.g. parents and children, in-laws of different generations, etc), among people of different age, social status, rank or responsibility (e.g. director of school and younger staff members). In addition, speakers can use asymmetrical *tu* and *vous* on the bases of their "personal preferences or habits." Speakers and addressees may also initiate asymmetrical use of *tu* and *vous* when they are uncertain about their social standings in relation to each other (Morford 1997: 13):

> Contrary then to the popular notion that French society is moving toward a "generalized" use of *tu*, the use of *vous* in symmetrical and asymmetrical exchanges is far from being eradicated. What one observes nowadays is not an absolute preference for *tu* but rather an emergent preference for symmetry in terms, which may of course lead to a symmetrical use of *vous* as well as of *tu*. This preference for symmetry is manifest in the dynamics of pronominal switching and in the relative rarity of stabilized asymmetrical usages. Asymmetrical exchanges of terms nonetheless do occur and are readily justified when clear differences of age, rank, kinship status, or personal dispositions are recognized. In speakers' efforts to switch from *vous* to *tu*, differences of status and disposition may also become evident through each participant's roles and responses. (Morford 1997:14)

Therefore, the use of address pronouns is rather determined by social context, settings, or circumstances, the nature of the relationship between interlocutors as well as the characteristics of interlocutors (Coffen 2002:238, Morford 1997: 3, 29-32). An example of the effect of social setting or context can be the change from the reciprocal *tu* to reciprocal *vous* when there is a change in the audience or situation such as "going 'on-air' on radio or television" (Coveney 2010:136).

The frequent use of reciprocal *tu* seems to be the main change in the modern period of French. However, from a diachronic perspective, according to Nyrop (1925:238), what distinguishes old and modern periods, in terms of the use of the address pronominal system, is the consistency in the use of address pronouns on the part of the speaker. In sum, the pronominal address system becomes gradually stabilized and the alternation between *tu* and *vous* gradually disappears although it took centuries for the process to be completed. Similarly, the exclusive use of *vous* among upper class society was still present in the Classical period; yet, the symmetrical *tu* finally triumphs in modern French among all social classes.

5.6. DISCUSSION

As we discussed previously, two major hypotheses traditionally have been put forth to explain the use of *tu* and *vous* and most importantly the use of the alternation between the two pronouns in Medieval French. Certain linguists assume that there used to be no rule dictating the use of a specific pronoun which results in free pronominal alternation. Others establish a certain number of rules for the use of the pronouns of address. The rules generally indicate the use of *vous* and *tu* on the basis of the social and emotional status of the interlocutors. *Vous* is a pronoun of address among members of upper class society and a pronoun of address for superiors. *Tu* is a pronoun of address among lower class society, a pronoun of address for inferiors, and a pronoun expressing friendship or emotional attitudes of the speaker towards the addressee. Instances of alternation that do not fit into this pattern are then attributed to the influence of Latin, to the metrical rules or to the mistakes of the copyists. The overall use of the pronominal system in Medieval French may be summarized by the statement of Coffen (2002):

> En résumé, la norme exige que le *vous* soit utilisé entre personnes de haut rang, envers un supérieur, une dame et même un inférieur. Le *tu* est, outre un signe de supériorité ou de mépris, un symbole réservé aux moments d'intimité ou d'émotion et il est couramment utilisé entre égaux, par les classes inférieures, ou par des personnages appartenant à des univers différents.
>
> (Coffen 2002:82)

Our study is in agreement with the previous studies on the functions of the address pronouns in Old French**.** The use of *vous* among upper class society and the use of *tu* among lower class society are indeed attested. In our texts, we have similarly found

an alternation between the two pronouns especially when speakers want to express their emotions. Instances of alternation solely occur between friends, confidants, or equals in rank. Yet, the use of *tu* is not enforced and, therefore, it may be more plausible to consider *tu* as an informal pronoun showing the intention and emotion of the speaker whenever the speaker desires to do so.

Major differences between our study and the previous studies, however, reside in two important findings in Old and Middle French: 1) the spread of *vous* to middle class society, 2) the low frequency of alternation between the pronouns. At no point in the literature, *vous* has been attributed to a social class other than upper class society. In a similar way, while most studies indicate the frequent alternation between the two pronouns, our observation categorically rejects this assumption. Our empirical data show that the alternation between *tu* and *vous* is not frequent if it exists at all.

Before discussing our findings, we would like to briefly point to the role of the register of texts in the use of the pronouns of address. We believe that texts such as *Le roman de Renart* that are written in lower register may potentially show more instances of *tu*, which is not surprising because *tu* has been from the beginning the pronoun of informality; yet, even in those texts, *vous* is the predominant pronoun. To make sure that the register of the text could not be a factor in the use of *vous*, we briefly looked at certain passages of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* written by Rabelais in the 16th century. The text, which is written in a less elevated language in comparison with most texts of Old French, still projects the predominance of *vous* even though *tu* occurs more frequently and even though a few instances of alternation occur because of a stylistic desire of the author. Our

observation is in fact confirmed by the study of Coffen (2002): "[…] la prose semble définitivement condamner le *tu*. Comme dans *La vie de Gargantua* de Rabelais, seuls les jeunes enfants et occasionnellement les personnes inférieures le reçoivent » (2002 :103).

As for our findings, we see the disproportional use of the pronouns as a sign of a change in the pronominal address system at both surface and functional levels. The low number of *tu* shows that *vous* was generalized in Medieval French to the extent that it became the unmarked pronoun of address in both upper and middle class society. The Medieval French pronominal system, based on our corpus, was the opposite of the Modern French pronominal system in which *tu* is increasingly generalized as the unmarked pronoun. Therefore, it may not be unreasonable to suggest a cyclical evolution in the pronominal address system, where the unmarked *tu* in Latin that once was replaced by *vous* in Medieval French gains ground in Modern French (Latin *tu*> Medieval French *vous*> Modern French *tu*). However the underlying function of the pronouns in each period was different.

Vous is introduced in Latin, which only had *tu* as a pronoun of address for a single addressee, as a deferential pronoun among certain social groups (see chapter 4). Its usage as a deferential pronoun among upper class society increases in Medieval French because of the hierarchical and aristocratic society of that period. In Medieval French, formality was the key and had to be respected among the upper and middle classes by using *vous* in almost all instances; however, from the beginning, speakers showed a tendency to become informal with friends and equals. Consequently, *tu* started to sporadically appear in a subsystem in which informality was not the norm. As a result, a tendency towards the

formation of a new pronominal system emerged. A system in which *tu* eventually becomes the pronoun of solidarity and is reciprocally used among friends or equals, and *vous* becomes the pronoun of distance, formality and deference. A need for a system distinguishing the informal and formal relationships is also argued by Brown and Gilman (1960):

> For many centuries French, English, Italian, Spanish, and German pronoun usage followed the rule of nonreciprocal *T*-*V* between persons of unequal power and the rule of mutual *V* or *T* (according to social-class membership) between persons of roughly equivalent power. There was at first no rule differentiating address among equals but, very gradually, a distinction developed which is sometimes called the *T* of intimacy and the *V* of formality. (Brown and Gilman 1960:257)

Early attestations of the use of *tu* among equals are found in pronominal alternatins at the beginning of Old French period in texts such as *La chanson de Roland*. The alternation, however, was not frequent in Old French and is rarely attested in Middle French. Consequently, alternation could not occur because of the chaos and disorder in the system, arbitrary metrical reasons or a tie to the Latin system, as has been suggested in several studies (e.g. Foulet 1930, Nyrop 1925, Bakos 1955). If the pronominal alternation was generated because of the reasons that we just mentioned, one would expect to see more instances of alternation, where it could occur in any relationship and not just in certain types of relationship. Consequently, the use of *tu* among equals that caused the pronominal alternation in Medieval French was just an indication of a fundamental change in the pronominal address system which has been overlooked in the existing literature.

Gradually, from Middle French on, the distinction between the pronouns is determined on the basis of social status and relationships rather than the emotional state of the speaker. Examination of the text written by Rabelais (16th c.) and a text written by Molière in the 17th century, namely *Le malade imaginaire*, confirms the use of the pronouns on the basis of the social variables. *Tu* was losing its function as a pronoun representing the emotion of the speaker, which can be a determining factor in the stabilization of the pronominal system. Studies about the pronominal address system of Classical French do not differ from ours as they also consider the importance of social factors in the use of the pronoun of address in Classical French. This system continues until the 18th century when there is a breakdown in the social hierarchy because of the French Revolution. The major change in the use of the pronominal system of address occurs in the 19th century, when the underlying tendency towards a system based on equality is finalized; therefore, the use of *tu* in symmetrical usage indicates solidarity and familiarity, whereas the use of symmetrical *vous* indicates distance and formality. However, the use of asymmetrical *tu* and *vous* still occurs between interlocutors of different power, rank, ages, etc. The overall use of the pronouns in Modern French depends on the social and contextual variables as well as the type of relationship between interlocutors. It is argued that in modern society, it is a unidirectional movement towards the use of symmetrical *tu*.

5.7. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have attempted to trace the evolution of the pronouns of address in Medieval French**.** Our Latin data show that *tu* was the only pronoun of address. *Vos* in later stages could be used as a collective and deferential pronoun addressing a single person, but it was primarily a plural pronoun. Examination of a text of Early Old French shows the predominance of *tu* and a few occurrences of *vous* as the single pronoun indicating respect and formality among representatives of an upper class family.

The aristocratic and hierarchical society of Old French, however, influenced the pronominal address system. *Vous* became the unmarked pronoun of address in upper classes by the 12th century, and *tu* remained as a pronoun of address indicating the inferiority in social class. However, the occasional use of *tu* in alternation with *vous*, representing the emotions of the speaker, started in the language of upper classes among equals and friends. The more stabilized pronominal system in Middle French, where alternation between the two pronouns could rarely be found, emerged following the dismissal of *tu* as a pronoun expressing the speaker's emotions. A tendency towards the use of *tu* among equals and friends, which started in Old French, increases to the extent that the French society today is moving towards the generalization of *tu* although *vous* is still around as a pronoun of distance and formality.

Comparing our findings with previous theories, we have argued that two major changes are overlooked in the literature. First, *vous* was not a distinct pronoun of address in upper class society, and by the 15th century, it became the unmarked pronoun of the

middle classes as well. Second, although, in our analysis, the pronouns are found to have similar functions, as argued in the literature, alternation between the two pronouns was not a common phenomenon and statements to the contrary are not accurate. Having established this inaccurateness, we have subsequently concluded that the explanations do not hold either: instances of alternation to the extent that they occur do not reflect an abnormal or inherited system, instead they are indication of a tendency to form a new pronominal system on the basis of solidarity and distance, which takes place after the fall of the aristocratic and hierarchical society of French.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1. Overview of arguments

While writing this dissertation, we had two major perspectives in mind. Our first goal was to conduct a comprehensive study of linguistic politeness in Medieval French. Moreover, inspired by the idea of universality of politeness, we have attempted to relate the contemporary hypothesis of universal politeness to Medieval French in order to examine to what extent this well-known hypothesis applies to dead languages.

In general, diversified views have created an environment of various approaches and criticisms where linguists have attempted to offer the best possible theory of politeness. Studies generally have two types of approach. One approach attempts to draw general rules or principles for polite speech. The effort for formulating common rules has gained popularity among linguists who believed in the possibility of having a worldwide picture of politeness strategies. One of the inspiring studies in this field is the study of Brown and Levinson (1987). In contrast to their predecessors, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim the universality of politeness strategies and their applicability to all languages. Using the notion of 'face' introduced by Goffman (1956), Brown and Levinson (1987) build their theory around the principle of 'face threatening act'. The care and concern for addressees' images and feelings is thought as an underling motivation for politeness. From this perspective, their theory proposes two main strategies: positive and negative politeness. While in pursuing positive politeness, speakers claim friendship and common ground with addressees, in pursuing negative politeness, they avoid any imposition on addressees. A set of linguistic devices is then

proposed by the authors for some sub-strategies (e.g. interrogatives, forms of address, hedges, imperatives,…).

In the other so called 'specific approach', politeness has been examined in a particular language and community. Many linguists who conduct research on individual languages have rejected the universality perspective of politeness as many of them do not find compatibility between the theory of universality of politeness and their own findings. However, not all critical views are primarily concerned with the accuracy of the universality theory. Rather, some linguists criticize the study of Brown and Levinson (1987) for the flaws in their methodology. Despite the criticism, we have found the universality theory a potential model for approaching languages on the basis of linguistic elements used for conveying politeness.

As for the study of politeness in Medieval French, we have found the approach of the majority of the studies questionable and insufficient in different ways. First, aside from a few studies discussing deferential terms of address, the focus has been exclusively on the pronominal address system and we have barely found any arguments about other possible structures and expressions. Second, the emphasis of most studies, which trace the function of *tu* and *vous* in different centuries, has been on the frequent co-occurrence of the two pronouns of address towards the same individual without offering any numerical data to the extent that it has not been clear to which degree the pronominal address system was used inconsistently. In addition, no explanations have been offered to indicate the motivations behind the pronominal alternation, and therefore the possible underlying and fundamental evolution towards a new system has been overlooked.

Finally, there seems to be a consensus among linguists that the notion of politeness emerged in the 16th - 17th centuries in Western Europe due to a desire of the upper classes to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nation. In this respect, it is unclear how politeness would be conveyed before these periods. Having these arguments in mind, we have started our own investigation.

6.2. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

We have started our study from the earliest centuries of Latin all the way through 15th century French. We have divided our analysis into two major sections: 1) politeness in the absence of a pronominal system and 2) politeness conveyed by the pronominal address system. The following conclusions are drawn for each section on the basis of our data.

Politeness in the absence of a pronominal system:

a) Politeness existed from the earliest period of Latin; yet, the social contexts defining politeness were not similar in all periods of Latin and French.
b) The T/V pronominal system was not the only linguistic device conveying politeness. A set of other devices involving a variety of categories such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs could be used to express politeness.
c) Linguistic means used in polite speech in Latin and Medieval French may fit into the theory of universal politeness of Brown and Levinson (1987). However, polite strategies used in those languages do not entirely reflect the principles of the universal theory of politeness.

d) The generalization of polite linguistic means that originally were related to the language of upper class society is attested in Middle French: they spread to middle class society.

Politeness by the pronominal address system:

e) Spread of *vous* as the unmarked pronoun into the language of middle class society in Middle French.

f) Pronominal alternation was not found in great frequency in Medieval French. Instead, the consistently low incidence of pronominal alternation in Old French and the rare instances of alternation in Middle French were signs of a fairly regular system. In the following sections, we will elaborate on our findings.

6.2.1. Findings Based on the Absence of a Pronominal System

Analyzing our data, we have realized that polite or deferential language was not limited to certain periods and cultural contexts. However, the social circumstances in which politeness was expressed vary. The earliest texts of Latin (i.e. the plays of Plautus) show that the use of deferential language was not required by slaves addressing masters. Therefore, social differences or differences in power were not a factor triggering deferential language at those early periods. Instead, polite linguistic means have been attested in friendly relationships among people from the same social class (e.g. two masters) or from different social classes (e.g. master and confident slave).

In later periods of Latin (2nd BC-1st AD), however, we have found a very formal and polite language in correspondence of Pliny and Cicero who were representative of

upper class society. By contrast, such formality was absent in the novel of Petronius (1st AD) whose work pictures the language of ordinary people. The difference in register, observed in these documents, may indicate the rise of various social classes that we see in that period of the Roman Empire. Formal and elevated language progressively became a characteristic of people of upper class society; yet, as seen in the novel of Petronius, polite linguistic devices were present in ordinary language. Consequently, our observations underscore that polite speech was present in all Latin periods and in all social classes although it could be expressed and motivated differently. A range of linguistic means, such as using particular verbs (e.g. *hortor* 'to urge'/'to encourage', *peto* 'to beg', *rogo* 'to ask', etc.) to make polite request or advice; positive or flattering adjectives and especially the possessive adjective *mi*; titles or occupational terms; hedges (e.g. 'if clause'); impersonal constructions (e.g. *licet*); imperatives to give friendly advice or warning could be used to convey deference and respect.

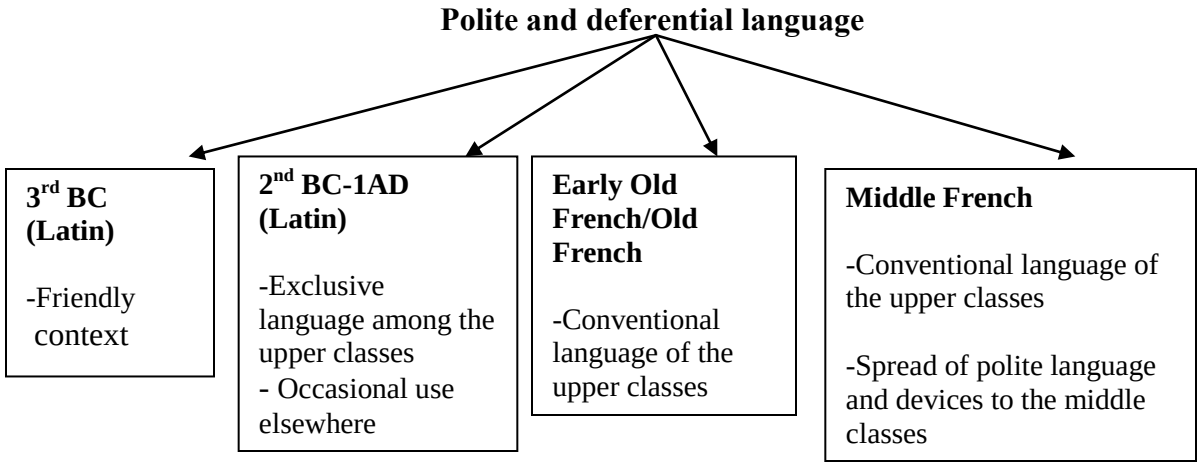
From Early Old French onward, and especially in the Old French period, polite language has exclusively been attested among the nobility and in aristocratic society. Using a polite and formal language was obligatory in all periods of Old French and Middle French among the upper classes regardless of the relationship between the interlocutors and regardless of the circumstances. Talking politely and formally was so important that speakers could even preserve their polite language when addressing enemies. Therefore, polite language in the way it was expressed in the upper class society was a linguistic trend to highlight their social superiority. As for the lower class, little evidence of the language of commoners in Old French exists to the extent that it is not

possible to examine the language of that social group. Having no evidence in hand, it is however our belief that the notion of politeness existed among the lower classes. Few examples actually support this assumption; however, as in low-register Latin, politeness could be expressed differently and occasionally based on the type of relationship between interlocutors.

In contrast to existing studies that associate politeness with the language of nobles in the 16th and 17th centuries, our findings indicate that politeness and formality had already become the exclusive language of people of higher social class in the 12th century. By the 16th and 17th centuries, politeness and formality had already spread to the middle classes and the distinction between the language of nobility and middle class society was no longer evident. In fact, it is in Middle French (14th-15th centuries) that we find the major shift by which the polite and formal devices that once were associated with the language of upper class society spreads to middle class society.

As for the linguistic devices used in Medieval French, terms of address such as titles (e.g. *reis*, *emperere*,…), honorifics (*sire*, *dame*), or friendship terms (e.g. *amis/amie*) are frequently used in all periods. A number of adjectives (e.g. *biau, doulz, chiers, mes*) was also commonly used with terms of address in polite contexts. In addition, the use of verbs (e.g. *mercier, prier,* etc), hedges (e.g. 'if clause'= *s'il vos pri*), questions (interrogatives), and imperatives was routine in polite conversations. Middle French, once again, seems to be an important stage in the history of French as new polite structures (e.g. conditional mood, impersonal construction [*il me semble que*], hedges [*je croi que*]) that continue to our days emerge at that period.

The following schema summarizes the social circumstances involving polite speech from Latin to Middle French:



Finally, we have not been able to find a true match between our findings and the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), but we have found no evidence to reject it either. Linguistic devices (e.g. hedges, honorifics, imperatives, impersonal constructions, etc.) that we have found in our data are similar to those proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987); yet, in respect to the strategies of politeness, we have encountered differences between our study and the universality theory. In general, we may argue that 'negative politeness' was the prevalent strategy in Medieval French because the formality was the norm. However, linguistic devices presenting positive and negative politeness could co-occur in the same context in all periods from Latin to Middle French. Despite the fact that Brown and Levinson (1987) point to the possibility of the co-occurrence of both strategies in "a given utterance," the phenomenon seems to be common in these old languages to the extent that we have concluded that there was no definitive line between

positive and negative politeness in those periods. More importantly, in Latin, we have attested 'praising', 'requesting' or 'begging' as major strategies of speakers. Humbling oneself was, in fact, a prominent sign of politeness. Yet, these strategies that are also found in later centuries have not been essential to the universality theory. In addition, throughout all centuries, there was no tendency to form a strategy of politness based on ambiguity along with indirectness (i.e. 'off record' strategy).

6.2.2. Findings Based on the Use of Pronominal Address System

We have seen that the source of the rise of a deferential pronoun in French and other Romance languages lies in the structural changes of Roman society as various studies indicate. The Roman emperors were the initiators of the evolution of a binary system of pronouns of address in French. A collective *vos* 'you (2Pl.)' was a response to *nos* 'we' used by an emperor who would either point to his shared power with other emperors or to himself and the nation under his authority. Therefore, this pattern of usage created a plural pronoun in reference to a single person. Losing its collective meaning, *vos* then became a deferential pronoun in Late Latin. Although the source of the deferential pronoun in all Romance languages was identical, French was among a few languages that fairly preserved the initial forms of the two Latin pronouns of address: *tu* 'you (2Sg)' and *vous* 'you (2Pl)'.

As for the function of the two pronouns, our findings do not differ from the existing studies. *Tu* was the unmarked pronoun in Latin and Early Old French. *Vous* subsequently became the unmarked pronoun among the nobility and people of higher

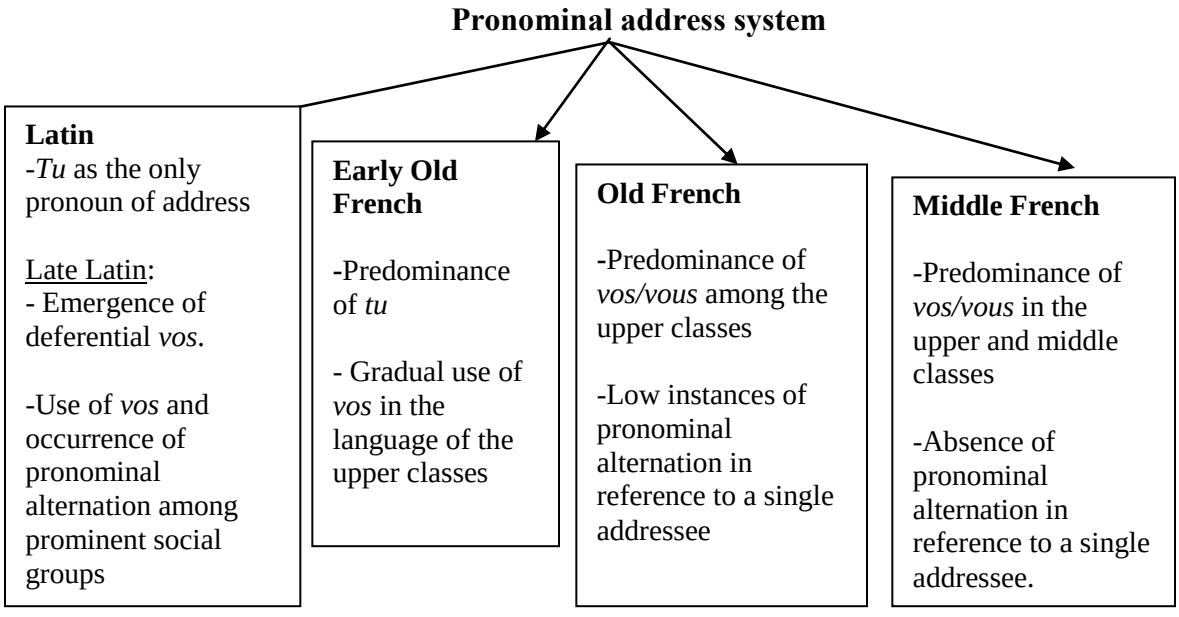
social class in Medieval French. On the other hand, our evidence-albeit limited- from the language of the lower classes shows that *tu* was used among commoners. In asymmetrical relationships, *vous* was the pronoun used to address superiors and *tu* was a pronoun of address towards inferiors.

However, a major development has been overlooked in the literature. Examining our own data, we have observed that *vous* spreads to the middle classes by the 15th century- and perhaps before- becoming the unmarked pronoun in the language of that social class. This finding is not surprising as other polite linguistic devices (e.g. honorifics, polite expressions, etc.) also enter the language of the middle classes following the spread of the polite and formal language among middle class society in that period.

Another point of divergence between our findings and the existing literature resides in the frequency of the co-occurrence of the two pronouns of address in reference to a single addressee. As has been argued in the literature, the deferential pronoun started to co-occur with the informal *tu* in late periods of Latin among the nobility and ecclesiastical community. The alternation between the two pronouns later in Medieval French has become problematic for most linguists and this topic has become the center of the controversy among them. A number of mostly early linguists have firmly stated that there was no rule or regulation in the pronominal address system. Their more recent colleagues, on the other hand, have endeavored to draw a pattern and to claim that the frequent alternation between *vous* and *tu* was due to the emotional and psychological state of speakers. Moreover, when none of these factors can explain the pronominal

alternation, these linguists refer to metrical reasons, mistakes of the copyists, or the influence of Latin. Pronominal alternation has been considered frequent and common in Old French, but a few studies point to the lower number of pronominal alternation in Middle French.

After conducting our own analysis on the pronominal alternation, we have found, in contrast to previous studies, a low frequency of pronominal alternation in Old French. In Middle French, the co-occurrence of the two pronouns was so rare that we can claim the absence of pronominal alternation. As a result, we have realized that pronominal address system became more stabilized in Middle French, where the occurrence of pronouns could no longer be based on the momentary emotional change in the attitude of the speaker. The following schema shows the overall use of the deferential pronoun and its alternation with the informal pronoun:



In addition, linguists who have outlined rules for the pronominal address system and especially for the alternation between the two pronouns have bypassed specific social circumstances in which the alternation supposedly occurred. In several studies, we have found a brief statement about the occurrence of the alternation between equals of upper class society; yet, no explanation has been further given of this phenomenon. On the basis of our data, it is clear that pronominal alternation, for the most part, happened among equals and friends. Even if the alternation occurred between superior and inferior, it was in a relationship based on confidence and friendship. Therefore, the low incidence of pronominal alternation among particular groups of people shows that the system was not in disorder. If there was no rule in the system, if the system was influenced by the archaic Latin system, and if copyists or poets manipulated the texts, one would expect to see a greater number of pronominal alternation, which could occur in any type of relationship. Low frequency of a phenomenon may not be necessarily an indication of an irregular system or a derivation from the norm. For instance, Bauer (1996) shows that although indirect speech was not popular and frequent in Old French, it would follow the regular syntactical and grammatical aspects of the language.

It is our belief that pronominal alternation in Old French points to a more fundamental evolution in the system. Reaching out to a few studies about the pronominal address system in contemporary French such as the study of Brown and Gilman (1960), we have found that the informal pronoun *tu* in Modern French becomes the unmarked pronoun in all social classes showing solidarity between the interlocutors, and *vous* becomes the marked pronoun used in non-solidarity relationships. Having these

arguments in mind, we have concluded that the use of *tu* in alternation with *vous* among equals of upper class society in Old French indicates that from the beginning there was a tendency to have a system based on two criteria: solidarity and distance. Especially, when solidarity, according to Brown and Gilman (1960), in early European periods, would convey 'equality in power' rather than 'having common ground'. Therefore, Old French *tu* spreads among equals in informal situations whether they were friends or enemies. This underlying tendency finally gains ground after the breakdown of the aristocracy and social gap by the French Revolution in the 18th century.

6.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Our research has been designed to address new arguments in the field of politeness in Latin and Medieval French; yet, it especially underlines the significance of a diachronic study in examining the contemporary hypotheses and in solving linguistic problems that have been put aside. In spite of having access to specific type of data in an historical research, good results can still be drawn. In fact**,** leaning on a synchronic study may well address many questions or concerns, but it may divert the attention from the deep and fundamental changes that can happen in the linguistic system of a given language. What therefore should be in our mind is the interrelation between synchronic and diachronic approaches. Moreover, this study shows the possibility of transferring anthropological constructs onto diachronic linguistic data.

Although it was our attention to conduct a comprehensive study on linguistic politeness in Medieval French, this topic without a doubt deserves further research and

studies. Therefore, we hope that this study opens a window to new research in the socio-historical linguistic field.

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